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## PREFATORY NOTE

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## A NEW APPROACH TO THE TEXT OF PLINY'S LETTERS

BY EDWARD KENNARD RAND

### ARTICLE III

IN the previous parts of this discussion, I have given reasons, based on a study of the temperament of Aldus, his habits of work, and the character of his published texts, for assuming that he treated his newly-found *Codex Parisinus* (*P*) with the respectful conservatism that this apparently ancient manuscript deserved. We have tested Aldus in the section of text included in the Morgan Fragment (II), in the portions of Books 8 and 9 that he published for the first time, and in the latter half of Book 10 (*Letters* 41-121), of which three editions had already appeared; the first of these, by Avantius in 1502, was based on a copy of *P*. One section remains for our present consideration, the first half of Book 10 (*Letters* 1-40), which no one had printed before, and for which our only sources to-day are the Aldine edition and the copy of the new text made for Budaeus. This is now contained in the famous Bodleian volume, which once, as Mr. Merrill amply proved, was the property of Budaeus and which, in this part as in all its parts, was supplemented with variants and corrections in Budaeus's own hand.<sup>1</sup> In the added parts of Books 8 and 10, we have the independent evidence of the Medicean manuscript (*Laurentianus* XLVII, 36 = *M*), the chief authority for what was once considered, perhaps rightly, the best of the three classes.<sup>2</sup> The testimony of *M*, unhappily, is missing for the text of Book 10, nor have we in the first half of this book the evidence offered by Avantius for the second half. Aldus (*a*), the notes of Budaeus (*i*), and the text of *P* prepared for him

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Merrill's article, "On a Bodleian Copy of Pliny's Letters," in *C(lassical) P(hilology)*, II (1907), pp. 129 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So Keil, in his standard edition of the *Letters* (1870), and now G. Carlsson, in his excellent article, "Zur Textkritik der Pliniusbriefe," in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N. F. Avd. 1, Bd. XVIII, Nr. 5 (1922).

by some scribe (*I*), are our only available sources for the letters to which we now turn our attention. For *Letters* 1-3b, Aldus is our only source, since the leaf containing them has disappeared from the Bodleian volume.

In discussing Book 8, I sought to show that *I* depends not on *P* directly, but on an intervening copy (*I*<sup>o</sup>), which contained, I argued, a text of the *M*-variety conflated with that of *P*. This conflation was very probably the work of Jucundus, who may have otherwise corrected the text.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the investigation of the latter half of Book 10, here denoted by 10 (2), indicated that Budaeus had access, not so probably to *P* itself as to a copy prepared for him by Jucundus.<sup>2</sup> It remains to be seen whether in the first half of Book 10, here denoted by 10 (1), the copy *I* is likewise derived at first or at second hand from *P*.

## I. THE TEXT OF *I*

The writer of *I* in the first half of Book 10 shows the same admirable habits of conservatism that he exhibited in Book 8. This appears from the character of his mistakes. To find these, I assume as the correct text that which is accepted by Mr. Merrill in his Teubner edition of the *Letters* (1922). Reference will also be made to the editions of Keil, Hardy (Book 10, 1889), and Kukula (1912). In all, I have found some 35 cases in which *I* deviates from the text generally accepted to-day, whereas Aldus agrees with it. The character of these errors reveals, in 10 (1) as in 8,<sup>3</sup> a conscientious though not impeccable scribe, who pays, apparently, little attention to the sense of what he copies, and thus, at times, deviates into rather stupid blunders like the following:

13 (268, 20 *Merrill*) auguratum] *a* auguriatum (*corr. i*) *I*

17 A (269, 22) excutio] *a* executio (*corr. i*) *I*

19 (270, 20) consilio me] *a* consilio meo (*corr.*) *I*

Here *I*, according to Mr. Merrill, corrects his own error.

25 (272, 16) Pudens] *a* prudens *I*

30 (274, 7, 8) lecti] *a* leti (*corr. i*) *I*

<sup>1</sup> See *Article I* (vol. XXXIV, 1923), pp. 172 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Article II* (vol. XXXV, 1924), pp. 163 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Article I*, pp. 158 ff.



33 (275, 17, *inscriptio*) instituendo] *a* institutum *I*

34 (276, 8) coercendos] *a* coercendas (*corr. i*) *I*

39 (278, 5) testaceo] *a* testatio (*in testacio i*) *I*

This reading is not reported by Mr. Merrill.

*I* makes little if any effort to improve the text as he proceeds. Certain readings possibly suggest deliberate alteration, but most of them, at any rate, seem due to the scribe's habit of memorizing small sections of the text, with the resulting confusion of similar words or forms.<sup>1</sup> Thus in 20 (271, 3), for *ad continendas custodias* *I* has *ad cūst continendas custodias*; he evidently had inverted the order of the words but discovered his error before the first of them was written. Similarly in 10 (267, 20), he has *ecce* for *esse*, a mistake occasioned by a confusion of sound as he dictated to himself the words that he had memorized. The following errors are perhaps of similar character.

12 (268, 11) Accium] *a* attium *I*

14 (268, 28) nouetur] *a* mouetur (*corr. i*) *I*

19 (270, 21) ciuitatium] *a* ciuitatum *I*

31 (275, 1) qui dicerent] *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> quid dicerent *a* quod dicerent *I*

This case needs special discussion; see below, p. 33. Meanwhile we may observe that *I* has *Quod* for *Quid* (= *a*) in 40 (278, 19).

39 (278, 14) an] *a* aut *I*

This is not a happy change, whether intentional or accidental.

40 (278, 23) constructionem] *a* constitutionem *I* fortasse recte Merrill

Here we may suspect a deliberate alteration of the original. Since *constitutio* is a good architectural word (see Vitruvius, 4, 8, 7); it may be, as Mr. Merrill almost but not quite decides, that Aldus has tampered with the text. But see below, p. 9.

There are about a dozen cases of omissions of words or syllables in *I*, which may be compared with the omissions made by the scribe in Book 8.

4 (264, 27) meus] *a* om. *I* fortasse recte Merrill

10 (267, 21) νομοῦ Μεμφίτου] νόμου μεμφύτου *a* om. *I* (νόμου μενφίτου *add. in lacuna i*) νομόν μεμφιτικόν *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> νομοῦ Μεμφιτικοῦ *Stephanus*. See below, p. 18.

15 (269, 4) ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν] *a* om. *I* *add. in lacuna i*

<sup>1</sup> See Article I, pp. 159, 160.

17 A (269, 14 *Inscript.*) In Bithyniam se uenisse scribit *a* In bithyniam sepe uenisse *I* In bithyniam se peruenisse *i*

The correct form of this heading is doubtless given by Aldus. *I* and *a* agree in headings that contain a verb in *Letters* 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13. The most common form is *de aliqua re (aliquibus hominibus)*. Nothing like *se (per)uenisse* occurs. As *I* has omitted a word from a heading here, he may have omitted (*H*)*arpocrati* in 5 (265, 12).

*Ibid.*, 23 pecuniae] *a om. I*

19 (270, 22) seruos] *a om. I*

31 (274, 16) de] *a om. I add. i*

*Ibid.*, 17 Nicaeae] Niceae *a nicae (in fine versus) I*

It is true that *nicae* stands at the end of the line, but the scribe had plenty of room for the final syllable. Instead, he puts in a period and begins a new sentence with *Quidam* in the next line. We may not infer, therefore, that his original had *nicaeae*; it may just as well have had the reading of *a, niceae*.

32(275, 6) quoniam multa] *a om. I, crucem in contextu et in marg. apposuit i*

33 (275, 19) et] *a om. I*

34 (276, 5) esse] *a om., add. in marg. I*

Here *I* remedies his own error.

39 (278, 13) modo] *a om. I, add. supra i*

40 (278, 25) possit] *a om. I, add. in marg. i*

The immediate original of *I* seems in 10(1) as in 8,<sup>1</sup> to have been a minuscule codex. Errors like the following indicate the nature of its script.

5 (265, 12 *Inscript.*) Iatraliptae *a latraliptae I*

So in l. 14, *I* has *latralipten* and in 6 (265, 24) and 10 (267, 18) *latraliptae*. This error might arise from copying rustic capitals, or some late form of minuscules in which *i* and *l* were similarly made. It would not be likely to occur if the scribe copied an uncial like that in II.

10 (267, 20) Harpocran] *a arpocrati (in arpocratem i) I*

If this error is visual and not occasioned by the remembrance of *arpocrati* two lines above, it could much more easily come from a late minuscule than a majuscule original. In the former, *n* might be con-

<sup>1</sup> See *Article I*, pp. 170 ff.

fused with *ti*. Conversely, in 7 (266, 10) *ti* is mistaken by *I* for *ae* (*arpocrae Harpocrati*).

24 (272, 15 *Inscript.*) Seruili *a* seruili *ex* seruii *I*

*Ibid.*, 16 Seruilius] *a* eruilius *ex* eruius (*S culpa miniatoris omissa*) *I*

Mr. Merrill wrongly reports the reading of *I* as *eruili* (*eruii*); the syllable *us* is plainly written.

26 (273, 5) unum] *a* enim *I*

29 (273, 27) Caelianus] *a* caelinnus (*corr. i*) *I*

31 (274, 27) poenis] *a* potius (*corr. in marg. i*) *I*

39 (278, 8) buleutae] *a* bulentae (*corr. i*) *I*

In two instances, we may possibly have a glimpse through the minuscule copy (*I*<sup>o</sup>) to a majuscule (uncial?) source behind it.

33 (275, 20) et Iseon] et Isaeum *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> et Isson *a* netisson *I*

This is an instructive case. Aldus evidently printed just what he found in *P*. *I*<sup>o</sup> apparently copied from a manuscript in *scriptura continua* and committed a dittography in copying (*Gerusian* precedes). *I* reproduces faithfully the unintelligible form that he found in *I*<sup>o</sup>.

A few other readings may be cited that I am inclined to attribute to the intervening copy *I*<sup>o</sup> rather than to *I*.

5 (265, 17) Harpocras] *a* Arpocras *I* Cf. *Arpocrati* (265, 24); *arpocrae* (266, 10). *I* follows his original so faithfully that I should imagine that the *H* had already been omitted by *I*<sup>o</sup>.

*Ibid.*, Thermuthin] *a* thernuthin *corr. ex* thernuthim *I*

It is not clear who made the correction. If it is by *I*, this scribe must have compared his original somewhat carefully. If that had *thermuthin*, which *a* apparently found in *P*, *I* would probably have also noticed his other error (*nu* for *mu*). As he did not, *I*<sup>o</sup> most probably had *thernuthin*.

11 (268, 5) Phosphoro] *a* fosforo *I*

See the first instance (*Harpocras*).

*Ibid.*, Anchariae] *Mommsen* Panchariae *a* panchay:ae ac (*subpunxit fortasse i*) *I*

*P* evidently had *Panchariae*, which *a* got without difficulty. The reading of *I* indicates the existence of a copy in which the unfamiliar word was written obscurely. The combination *ari*, with a descending *i*, might well suggest *ay* in a cursive minuscule of the fifteenth century.

We may also note certain contemporary spellings in *I* which he may either have himself introduced, or, as would seem more likely, have found in *I*<sup>o</sup>. The text of *I* in Book 8 presents a similar array.<sup>1</sup> In the present section, for example, we have: *arctissimo* (272, 20), *caetera* (264, 32), *charissime* (269, 10 *et alibi*), *charitatem* (273, 6), *conditionis* (265, 16 *et alibi*), *foelicitas* (268, 14), *foeminae* (265, 19), *Graetia* (278, 28), *noticiam* (277, 18), *ydoneo* (275, 11), but *idoneo* 278, 26. None of these contemporary spellings is reported by Mr. Merrill.

In Book 8, as we saw, the text of *I* represents a conflation of *M* and *P*. No such mixture is possible in 10(1), and yet some sort of mixture is apparent, as the following cases will show.

1. 4 (264, 30) *quadragens]* *quadrages* (i. *quadringenties in marg. adscriptum postea est deletum fortasse manu secunda*) *I* *quadrages Kukula* *quadringenties a Keil* *quater decies Gronov* CCCC. HS *Gesner*

Mr. Merrill's report of *I* is not quite correct. *Quadragens* (with a stroke through *n*) stands in the text, with *(ue)l q(ua)dragies (ue)l q(ua)dringe(n)ties* in the margin; there a line has been drawn through *quadrages* and dots placed beneath *quadringenties*. The reading finally accepted, — whether by Budaeus or by some later owner — is therefore *quadrages*. The reading of *a*, though accepted by Keil, has aroused question, since the sum of 40,000,000 sesterces seemed too large a gift for the mother of Voconius Romanus to confer on him to ensure his possession of the Senatorial census of 1,200,000 sesterces. Four million (*quadrages*) are also more than enough; yet, as Hardy points out, there is no reason why the donation should not exceed the necessary sum. But if, reading *quadrages*, we make this generous mother give more than thrice the amount, why might she not have multiplied that sum yet more? It all depends on the goodness of her heart and the contents of her purse. How do we know that she was not as wealthy as Cn. Lentulus the augur and Narcissus, Nero's freedman, who were forty times a millionaire (in the ancient sense)? Budaeus quotes this passage in his *De Asse et Partibus eius*.<sup>2</sup> He has been citing various passages from the *Letters* to show how wealthy a man Pliny was, and adds:

<sup>1</sup> See *Article I*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Book III, fol. 104<sup>v</sup> of the Aldine edition, 1522.



Apud eundem epistola quarta ad Traianum liberalitatem sestertii quadringenties pro quadragies legitur. magnam enim esse pecuniam ex eo ostenditur, quod epistola alia [39] ad eundem legitur. "Theatrum dominae (sic) niceae maxima iam parte constructum, perfectum tamen, sestertiûm ut audio, amplius centies hausit."

Budaeus's words are not quite clear to me, but he apparently is not disinclined to the larger sum. What had *Parisinus*? If the Morgan Fragment was a part of it, it would probably contain doublet readings here and there.<sup>1</sup> Possibly *I*<sup>o</sup> copied both *quadragie(n)s* and *quadringentie(n)s* from it. If so, Aldus chose that which to-day would be judged the *lectio difficilior*. I think it no less possible that *I*<sup>o</sup>, the copy of Jucundus, contained as variants some of that eminent scholar's conjectures.<sup>2</sup> He may have found *quadringentie(n)s* in *P*, and written *quadrigie(n)s* above the line or in the margin, *I* choosing the latter for his text.

2. 8 (266, 24) *curis delegati*] *a* († *curae delegatae in marg. adscripsit, postea deleuit*) *I*

The full phrase is *curis delegati a vobis officii retentus*. The variant *curae delegatae* is a puzzle until we note that *I* has *officiis*, with a line through *s* (deleted by *i*, according to Mr. Merrill). Surely this rejected variant is inferior. If Aldus saw it in *P*, he showed his sense by not entertaining it. But it might be that *I*<sup>o</sup> copied *officiis* by an easy slip and later conformed *curis delegati* to what he fancied the right construction. The presence of an emender is evident.

3. 17 A (269, 22) *tractatu*] *in marg. I* *tractu in contextu Ia*  
*Tractatu* is obviously right. If the doublet existed in *P*, Aldus made a reprehensible choice. But it is no less possible that Jucundus anticipated Rittershausen with a happy conjecture, copied by *I* as a marginal variant.

4. 18 (270, 12) *mei loco*] *a* *in loco (in marg. mei loco) I*  
*I*<sup>o</sup> apparently made an error in copying *P*, and then supplied the correction, *I* reproducing both that and the error.

5. *Ibid.*, *excutere*] *a* (*in marg. exquirere*) *I*  
*Excutere* is a vigorous word, somewhat unusual in the context. *Exquirere* explains and dilutes the meaning. It may have been a gloss in *P*, or have been devised by Jucundus and copied by *I* from *I*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See *Carnegie Publication* (= *A Sixth-century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger*, by E. A. Lowe and E. K. Rand, Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1922), pp. 42, 48.

<sup>2</sup> See *Article II*, p. 164.

6. 31 (274, 29) damnati] *a* dati († damnati in marg.) *I*

*I* is not merely correcting an error of his own; else he would not have prefixed *uel* to the marginal variant. There was a doublet in *I*<sup>o</sup>, the error and its correction.

7. 32 (275, 9) ministrorum] *a* ministeriorum (ministrorum in marg.) *I*

Again, *I* would in all likelihood have merely expunged the false *e* had he himself been responsible for the error. He found it already committed in his original.

8. *Ibid.*, 12 damnati] *a* nati (damnati in marg.) *I*

This case is like the two preceding.

9. 37 (277, 6) testaceo opere agenda] *a* testacei operis agenda (partim subpuxit testaceo peragenda in marg.) *I*

Hardy, followed by Kukula, read *peragenda* on the evidence of the marginal reading in *I*, though they also retain *opere* from *a*. Mr. Merrill wisely returns to Aldus, who apparently read *P* correctly. *I*<sup>o</sup>, misled by the *scriptura continua* of *P*, it would seem, wrote, with an easy haplography and an easy omission, *testaceo peragenda*. At a later time, when *P* was not at hand, he inserted a rather bold emendation, *testacei operis*. Had *P* been accessible, he would not have been driven to this desperate remedy. The whole sentence, which is part of a description of an aqueduct, runs: *aliqua pars, ut mihi uidetur, testaceo opere agenda erit*. *I*, with the choice of *testacei operis agenda* and the meaningless *testaceo peragenda*, chose the former for the text and the latter for the margin.

10. 40 (278, 29) sunt] *a* şînt sunt *I* sint edit. Basil.

The Emperor is answering Pliny's request that an architect be sent to Bithynia. The last sentence reads: *modo ne existimes breuius esse ab urbe mitti, cum ex Graecia etiam ad nos uenire soliti sunt*. *Sunt* seemed an obvious slip on the part of Aldus, and was corrected in the Basle edition (1521?). So far as I know, Mr. Merrill is the first, after the lapse of centuries, to revert to one of the errors of the Aldine edition. But it is also an error of *P*, as we see from the testimony of *I*. Aldus, conservative as ever, put it in his text, perhaps feeling that Trajan, as *imperator Romanus* was *supra grammaticam*. Jucundus wrote *sint* above the line, and *I*, in his fashion, copied both forms into his text.

We should give Jucundus the credit for emending the error and accept his emendation.

There is a large amount of uncertainty, I will admit, in the present part of our discussion. Some of the doublets, as I have indicated, may have been found in *P*. But some at least seem to me far more probably the work of *I*<sup>o</sup>, that is, Jucundus. In four cases (Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8), he won back the reading of *P*, which he had momentarily lost. The rest are either successful (Nos. 3, 10) or perhaps successful (No. 1) or unsuccessful (Nos. 2, 5, 9) attempts at conjectural emendation. That is what we might expect of Jucundus. We may now revert to the cases where we have suspected conjecture in certain readings where doublets do not appear.<sup>1</sup> In particular, a scholarly architect like Jucundus might well have substituted *constitutionem* for *constructionem* in 40 (278, 23). We might expect more traces of such conjecture in both parts of Book 10 than in Book 8, since in the latter case many of the errors of *P* would have been cleared up by the *M*-text used by Jucundus. In any case *I* is for us a most welcome accession to *a*, heretofore our only authority. Even though all the doublet readings above discussed have no source beyond the critical sense of Jucundus, the amount of such conjecture is small. In general, the text of *I* makes the impression of trustworthiness. Whatever *I*<sup>o</sup> contained, the scribe who worked for Budaeus tried faithfully to reproduce what he found. His evidence is far superior to that of Avantius in 10(2). Still, there are some 35 errors of carelessness for which either *I* or *I*<sup>o</sup> is responsible and which Aldus avoids. Possibly Mr. Merrill would infer that Aldus obtained the correct reading in every case by conjecture. We will examine that matter below. For the moment, we must consider our third witness, or possible witness, to the *Parisinus*, namely the corrections or variants (*i*) introduced into the text of *I* by Budaeus.

## II. THE VARIANTS OF BUDAEUS

In 10(1), as elsewhere, Budaeus gives evidence of having read the letters with an intelligent interest, and, though he has obviously not undertaken a thorough collation of *P*, he has noted some of the weak places in the text and supplied certain readings. Our problem is to as-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 3, and below, p. 26.

certain, if we may, to what extent these readings were drawn directly from *P.* Budaeus has also employed certain diacritical signs, to which Mr. Merrill called attention<sup>1</sup> and which I cursorily described.<sup>2</sup> They have recently been treated in an article by Dr. A. P. Dorjahn,<sup>3</sup> a former pupil of Mr. Merrill's, and they need still further treatment.

#### (a) *Budaeus's Diacritical Signs*

Judging merely by the signs in the portion of text covered by II, and contained in the only photographs of the Bodleian Volume then accessible to me, I concluded that the signs bore no relation to the condition of the text. The *obelus*, the *obelus cum puncto* and the doubly pointed *obelus* were used, but not with the purposes for which Probus applied them. They merely denoted passages in the *Letters* that particularly attracted the attention of Budaeus. He likewise would occasionally draw in the margin a hand with pointing finger or add catch-words. If the different signs had special meanings, they served, so far as I could discover, merely to express different degrees of interest on the part of Budaeus. Dr. Dorjahn presents further evidence "from the somewhat limited number of photographs" at his disposal, and inclines to the opinion "that Budaeus employed various signs without discrimination." In some of his instances (p. 182), the doubly pointed *obelus*, as he describes it, clearly refers to the condition of the text. This use I should not have suspected either from my photographs or from Mr. Merrill's remarks on the subject. With rotographs for the added portion of Book 8 and for all of Book 10 now in my possession, I may venture a few more remarks on this matter, which though small in appearance, is, as we shall see, not unimportant in the problem that we are trying to solve.

Catch-words abound in 8, 10(1), and 10(2). In all these sections the simple and the pointed *obelus* are placed in the margin opposite a passage of intrinsic importance. In only a few cases has the text in such passages been questioned. There is always something in the passage that might well have aroused Budaeus's interest; the nature of the text

<sup>1</sup> *C. P.*, II (1907), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Carnegie Publication*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> "On Budaeus' Use of Marginal and Interlinear Signs in *Bodl. Auct. L.* 4.3" in *C. P.*, XIX (1924), pp. 180-183.



is therefore purely incidental. The pointing hand occurs in 8 and 10(2), but not in 10(1). I still have the feeling, despite Dr. Dorjahn's conclusions, that it betokens a rather unusual interest on the part of the reader who took the time to draw it. In the five instances noted by Dr. Dorjahn, there is always something that Budaeus might have found novel and significant.<sup>1</sup>

The textual variants added by Budaeus in the section included in II are, as I pointed out,<sup>2</sup> negligible. When he inserts them, however, his method and his signs are perfectly definite. The presence of a cross (+) surely denotes that something is the matter with the text. The sign occurs, in 10(1), opposite 22 (271, 24) *interest*; 23 (272, 4) *aestimans* (*corr. ex aestimamus*); 32 (275, 6) *missum* (here the cross is also put above the end of *missum* in the text). In all of these passages, the text of *I* is manifestly corrupt and defective; the cross apparently indicates a lacuna. In the first two passages, Mr. Merrill ascribes the sign to *I* and in the third to *i*. The testimony of the rotographs does not enable me to form an opinion, but this testimony may be supplemented from other parts of the volume. In Book 8, the cross follows *patiens*, the last word before the supplemented part, and is repeated in the margin. Thereafter it appears thrice both in the margin and in the text. In 14 (214, 14) it accompanies a clause omitted by *I* and supplied by Budaeus in the margin. The use of the cross is not noted by Mr. Merrill either here or in the other two instances in Book 8. In 14 (217, 2) it indicates the dittography of *potest*; in 17 (219, 4) it accompanies the marginal addition of *I*, *v(e)l ad*. In 10(2), the cross occurs in 86 B (297, 10), though not noted by Mr. Merrill. Here, manifestly, something has been lost; Budaeus follows Catanaeus's daring interpolation.<sup>3</sup> In 118 (308, 8) a cross occurs before *Iselastici* and is repeated in the margin. According to Dr. Dorjahn, its purpose is "apparently to call attention to a foreign word." But the sentence is not easy, and especially with the reading of Catanaeus in mind, — and it might have

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dorjahn remarks on 16 (23, 1-3), where the hand points at Pliny's eulogistic description of the writings of an unknown Pompeius Saturninus, that "the passage could hardly have aroused 'burning interest' in any person except Saturninus himself." I must admit for myself a rather lively interest in any new light on Latin literature, and can well believe that Budaeus would have been similarly interested.

<sup>2</sup> *Carnegie Publication*, pp. 59, 62.

<sup>3</sup> See *Article II*, p. 157.

been pondered by Budaeus — the latter might well have thought the text defective or corrupt. Dr. Dorjahn cites two other cases from Books 1 and 3 of the *Letters* (29, 8 and 83, 16). In the former, the Greek quotation from Eupolis is imperfectly reproduced in the edition of Beroaldus that forms the first part of the Bodleian Volume; in the latter, "*Arriae illius* is followed by a cross, and in the right margin is a hand, pointing to the note: *memorabilis femina arria uxor peti.*" This is the only instance known to me in which the cross seems to refer not to the condition of the text but to something of importance in its contents. I can add one more passage in which the cross is used, namely in Book 9, where Budaeus puts this sign in the margin after *Letter* 15 and again in the lower margin where he inserts in *Letter* 16 in his own hand. In all cases but one, therefore, the use of a cross indicates a corrupt and generally a defective text. I am inclined to interpret the solitary exception in the light of other cases, supposing that here, too, (83, 16), Budaeus saw something in the text of Beroaldus that he did not like. Further, as to the two instances in 10(1) in which Mr. Merrill regards the cross as the addition of *I*, I wonder whether here, too, as in the notes of *i* in the editions of Beroaldus and Avantius included in the Bodleian Volume, the sign is not the work of Budaeus. We need all the facts before we can be sure that Budaeus always followed his principle, but we have seen evidence enough, I believe, to know what that principle is.<sup>1</sup>

Another symbol which indicates a condition of the text and which does not appear in the section included in II is a light slanting stroke with a dot above it (\* /). This is not like the *obelus* just described, which is a heavier horizontal line, but is merely a sign of reference connecting a word of the text with a variant in the margin. Seven of the nine marginal variants of *I* in 10(1) are thus indicated. In one of the remaining cases, 4 (264, 30) *quadragiens*, a double stroke without a dot is apparently what is used; in the other case, 32 (275, 12) *damnati*, a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dorjahn cites only four passages. His inability to "comprehend how the same emotional accompaniment could possibly have attached itself to these four passages which differ so widely from one another" is perfectly understandable. I am not aware that anybody has set an emotional value on the sign here employed by Budaeus. It belongs in a different category from that of *obeli* and the pointing-hand.

light slanting stroke with two dots, one above and one below, appears (·/·). This, too, is not the *obelus*, but a sign of reference. As will shortly be seen, it is the mark regularly used by Budaeus to accompany his marginal variants. I should infer that *I* had failed to add his customary sign, and that Budaeus had put in his own.

We find the same conditions in the added part of Book 8. Here the marginal additions of *I* are in four cases referred to the text by the same sign (the slanting stroke with superimposed dot ·/) that we have found in 10(1). In one case, 17 (219, 3) *atque culmina varietateque*, I think that *I* can make out the same faint double slanting stroke that appeared in Book 10, 4 (264, 30). The sign used by Budaeus, the doubly-pointed stroke (·/·), is also added here, both in the text and in the margin.

This favorite sign of Budaeus, which he did not find necessary in the text included in II, is plentiful enough in 10(2). In no less than 48 cases, a marginal variant is connected by this sign with the corresponding word or words in the text. In but four<sup>1</sup> of these, if my count is correct, the fault consists in an omission; elsewhere, as we have seen, Budaeus uses a cross to denote omission. The four cases in 10(2) are of comparative unimportance. Apparently, then, he restricted the cross to what he deemed the veritable *crucis*. In a number of cases, variants are inserted between the lines, without the signs of reference, and in about five places, the marginal variants lack their signs.<sup>2</sup> In one case,<sup>3</sup> the signs appear, but no variant is added in the margin; whether Budaeus forgot to add a variant that he knew or meant merely to indicate that the text was wrong, we have no means of judging.

Here is system clearly; despite the few deviations, Budaeus's general practice is plain. It is exhibited also in Book 8. Six marginal variants in the hand of Budaeus are connected with the text by the doubly pointed slanting stroke,<sup>4</sup> while with the *I* variants, as we have

<sup>1</sup> 87 (298, 3) *domine*; 96 (301, 10) *coeundi*; 109 (304, 27) *in*; 120 (309, 11) *facere*.

<sup>2</sup> 77 (293, 4) *dispice an*; 81 (295, 19) *sicut*; 96 (300, 20) *cohaerentia* (an interlinear correction was attempted, but it is obscure); 117, (307, 22) *invitatio*; 119 (308, 25) *peregerant*.

<sup>3</sup> 87 (297, 13) *testimonium*.

<sup>4</sup> 10 (212, 1) *praegnantibus* (Mr. Merrill, ascribing this to *i*<sup>2</sup>, incorrectly reports it as *praenantibus*); 14 (215, 21) *induciis*; *ibid.*, 27 *multaret*; 15 (217, 28) *scripseris*; 18 (220, 9) *no(men)*; *ibid.*, (221, 6) *tum*. In none of these places has Mr. Merrill mentioned the use of the doubly-pointed stroke.

seen,<sup>1</sup> the singly-pointed stroke is regular. In one case, Budaeus's sign stands alone in both margin and text without the addition of a variant.<sup>2</sup> I am led to wonder whether in one of Dr. Dorjahn's examples<sup>3</sup> of "the doubly-pointed *obelus*," it is not, rather, the doubly-pointed reference-sign that occurs; this is Book 1, 5 (9, 18), where Budaeus would substitute the conjecture of Catanaeus for the text of Beroaldus. In 2, 1 (35, 6) and 6, 12 (154, 11), the same sign, according to Dr. Dorjahn, accompanies explanatory glosses. In the remaining instance from 10(2), 114 (306, 18) *eaque pars legis*, the text of Avantius has *ea pars legis quae*. Dr. Dorjahn declares that "*quae* has a doubly-pointed *obelus* in the text, but there is no mark nor word in the margin." This is a highly inaccurate statement; Budaeus has placed his reference-sign above both *pars* and *quae*, repeating the sign in the margin before a very plainly written *eaque*.

After finding Budaeus systematic in his use of the reference-signs, I am disposed to believe that the different kinds of *obelus*, the pointing hand and one, at least, of the curious signs described by Dr. Dorjahn (p. 183) express varying degrees of interest. I will, this time, discreetly refrain from assessing their intensity, especially as Dr. Dorjahn rules out from the "realm of subjects that were of particular interest to Budaeus" the ghost story of 7, 27, where one of the signs that *ought* to accompany "lines of extraordinary appeal" appears (197, 28). The passage describes the conscientious endeavor of the philosopher to busy himself with writing, "*ne uacua mens audita simulacra et inanes sibi metus fingeret*." Thus as psychological observation and the rarities of Roman literature make little appeal to Budaeus, perhaps some will prefer to regard his flourishes in the margin as *probationes pennae*. Since my present consideration is rather the nature of his testimony to *Parisinus* than the range and register of his emotions, I will waive all *obeli* and hands, and examine, in 10(1), merely the use of the reference-signs.

The doubly-pointed stroke occurs 13 times in 10(1), accompanying, in both text and margin, the variants of Budaeus. I should infer, therefore, that in the single case where it appears with a variant of *I*,<sup>4</sup> it

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 18 (220, 1) *Mancia*. Here Mr. Merrill attributes the sign to *I*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 12.



might have been added by *i*, and that in the five cases<sup>1</sup> where it is found in the text and repeated in the margin with nothing else, it is Budaeus who apparently questioned the text without finding any satisfactory substitute for it. Mr. Merrill attributes only two of these cases specifically to *i*, and of course it is not impossible that *I* should have used both signs; a new examination of the ink might help us to decide. Meanwhile, the probabilities are as I have stated them.

This long preamble amongst minutiae has a purpose; it bears on our ultimate quest, the text of *P*. For if *I* used the doubly-pointed reference-sign on occasion, we are nearer to the source than when this sign is added by Budaeus. If, however, the sign is used only by the latter, we may not infer from its presence unaccompanied by a variant that we have lost some reading of greater significance than those which Budaeus has introduced. To these we may now turn.

(b) *Errors of I not corrected by i*

It is no less obvious in 10(1) than in the sections already treated that Budaeus, to quote Mr. Merrill's phrase, was afflicted "with no great worriment about text."<sup>2</sup> He read with greater care, I incline to believe, the newly discovered parts of the *Letters* than those already known. In Book 8, if my analysis is correct, he had at his disposal in *I* a text to which both *P* and *M* had contributed and in which, therefore, not so much remained to be done.<sup>3</sup> In 10(2), *i*'s correction of Avantius is far less perfectly done. The obvious errors of *A* not touched by *i* amount at least to 22.<sup>4</sup> A similar condition confronts us in 10(1). I would refer the reader to the list of some 35 errors of *I* given above<sup>5</sup> of which he will find more than a half unemended by *i*. For instance, *ecce* for *esse*, 10 (267, 20), *pecuniae om.*, 17 A (269, 23), *seruos om.*, 19 (270, 22), *Prudens* for *Pudens*, 25 (272, 16) are untouched. *Testatio*, 39 (278, 5) is only partly corrected. In 10 (267, 20) *Harpocran*, the scribal error of *I*, *arpocrati*, is emended by *i* to *arpocratem*; this form Budaeus did not get from *P*, but from his own sense of grammatical propriety —

<sup>1</sup> 17 (270, 4) *maxime*; 24 (272, 12) *intribuat*; 33 (275, 20) *et Iseon*; 37 (276, 24) *emissus*; 39 (278, 8) *additi*.

<sup>2</sup> *C. P.*, II, 151; *Article* II, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> For the few errors of *I* in Book 8 not corrected by *i*, see *Article* I, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Article* II, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 2 ff.

erroneous, in this case. In 32 (275, 6), *I* had omitted *quoniam multa*. Budaeus saw that something was wrong, for he puts a cross in text and margin. If he had consulted *P*, he would have found the omitted words, which were taken by Aldus from that source. Mr. Merrill, I suppose, would credit Aldus with a brilliant conjecture. If so, the latter has displayed a rather uncommon ability as a critic, for by this supposition, he probably corrected *suo Marte* others, or perhaps all, in the list of the errors of *I*. This is a new Aldus, I should say; for successful conjectural emendation is not his forte.<sup>1</sup> Budaeus is his superior in this art, it would seem; at any rate, as we shall now observe, he was not loath to practise it.

(c) *Conjectures among the Variants of Budaeus*

In 10(2), I pointed out<sup>2</sup> a rather imposing amount of conjecture among the variants of Budaeus, some of the readings being derived from Catanaeus, and some being the invention of Budaeus himself. Precisely the same situation meets us in 10(1). I first select the *i*-variants taken obviously from Catanaeus.

1. 8 (266, 32) locatio cum] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> (*et plane ex Catanaei coniectura*) *i*<sup>2</sup> locationem *Ia*

Since the second edition of Catanaeus appeared in 1518, the variant must be one of the later additions of Budaeus, provided that his "desk-copy" was assembled, as I suppose Mr. Merrill would believe, before *P* was brought down to Venice, that is, some time before 1508.

2. 30 (274, 11) diei quo] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> diei pro quo (*pro subpunxit I, uel fortasse, Catanaeum scilicet sequens, i*<sup>2</sup>) *Ia*

Here Mr. Merrill's apparatus should read rather *linea induxit* than *subpunxit*; a rather heavy line is drawn beneath *quo*. Mr. Merrill's first thought is to make *I* the corrector, but he allows for the possibility of a correction by *i*<sup>2</sup>, after 1518. How about the ink? A similar case is:

3. 5 (265, 20) patrona] (*corr. i ex patronam I*) *ia*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> patronam *a*  
Here *I* and *a* agree, as in No. 1, in retaining an error of *P* without emending, for the correction in the Bodleian Volume, according to Mr. Merrill, is by *i*. Why not *i*<sup>2</sup>? The heavy line beneath the final *m* of *patronam* seems exactly like that used in No. 2.

<sup>1</sup> See *Article II*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> See *Article II*, pp. 155 ff.

4. 31 (274, 18) *similiaque his] i, Cat.<sup>2</sup> similia in his Ia*

Here *i* has not deleted *in*, but put a doubly pointed reference-sign above, repeating it in the margin before *que*. The latter word seems clearly in the script of Budaëus; Mr. Merrill does not call it *i*<sup>2</sup>. Has Budaëus independently hit on the same conjecture as Catanaeus? If not, why not *i*<sup>2</sup>? *I* and *a*, as before, cling to the error of *P*.

5. 32 (275, 6) *meminerimus] Ia memineris i Cat.<sup>2</sup>*

Here *i* has drawn a line under *mus* (not so firmly as before, unless it has been partly erased), and apparently there are two dots under *u*. A reference-sign is put above the final syllable and is repeated in the margin with *memineris* after it in a hand that surely seems of a piece with the *i*-variants on this page. Were they *all* inserted after 1518? Perhaps the ink gives evidence. This is a specially important case, since *i* here agrees with *Cat.<sup>2</sup>* in an *erroneous* attempt at conjecture.

6. 32 (275, 8) *quod qui] i Cat.<sup>2</sup> quo qui Ia (fortasse recte)*

The following word is *damnati*. Budaëus inserts *d* between the lines after *quo*, and using his reference-signs, writes out *qui damnati* in the margin, since *I* has *quida(m)/nati*; a comma has also been placed in the text after *qui*. Mr. Merrill again sees the hand of *i*, not *i*<sup>2</sup>, and again would allow that the conjecture adopted by Budaëus and Catanaeus may be wrong.

7. 40 (278, 25) *illis] i Cat.<sup>2</sup> illi Ia<sup>2</sup> illa a*

First let me say that Aldus has not *illa* but *illi* in the copy of the first edition possessed by Harvard University. Is *illa* a feature of the *agere*-impression of the 1508 edition? Apparently not, if the elaborate article "On the 1508 Aldine Pliny" by Mr. Merrill's former pupils, Blanche B. Boyer and A. P. Dorjahn<sup>1</sup> has presented all the facts. Still, as they have presented plausible grounds for the existence of at least three impressions of the 1508 edition — which seems to have been a rather popular work — perhaps we shall have to speak of an *illa*-text. *Illi*, at any rate, seems to be the reading of *P*, taken by both *a* and *I*. With *sufficere* following, error is easy either way. *Illi* can be defended; the

<sup>1</sup> *C. P.*, XX (1925), pp. 50 ff. In the *Carnegie Publication*, p. 43, I called attention to what seemed an error of Keil (62, 13) in citing *a* for *agere* (= *a*<sup>2</sup>) instead of *facere* (= *a*<sup>1</sup>). But Mr. Merrill, whose reading agreed with Keil, showed that there are two forms of the 1508 edition. See our subsequent notes in *C. P.*, XVIII, pp. 348-350 and XIX, p. 75. The matter may deserve still further examination by an expert in typography.

meaning would be, "They should be contented with what is sufficient for restoring that work," that is, the gymnasium. *Illis* is also satisfactory, and might have occurred to Budaeus independently of Catanaeus.

Here, then, are seven cases in which Budaeus's variant agrees with a conjecture of Catanaeus. In Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 7, Budaeus might have independently hit on the same emendation, but in Nos. 1, 4, and especially 5, an erroneous attempt at conjecture, he must have followed in the wake of Catanaeus, that is, after the appearance of the latter's second edition in 1518. Some of these additions, as I infer from Mr. Merrill's use of *i* rather than *i*<sup>2</sup>, are of a piece with the *i*-variants in general; the evidence of my rotographs, — which of course is dubious evidence — points in the same direction. We may now examine the coincidences of *i* with *a*, not forgetting that the latter edition was printed in 1508. Our chief concern is to discover whether Budaeus drew some, or all, of these readings from *a*, or from *P*, their common source, or from Catanaeus.

1. 10 (267, 21) νομοῦ Μεμφίτου] νόμου μεμφύτου *a om. I* (νόμου μεμφίτου *add. in lacuna i*) νομόν μεμφιτικόν *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> νομοῦ Μεμφιτικοῦ *Stephanus*

This is an indecisive case. Budaeus might have consulted his copy of *P* — or *a*.

2. 11 (268, 2) Epigono] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> epigoni *I*

In the phrase *liberi eiusdem Chrysippi, Epigono et Mithridati*, it is easy for any scribe to write *Epigoni* and for any intelligent reader to correct the error. Aldus and Budaeus might have found the right reading in *P*, or they might have separately emended its error.

3. 15 (269, 4) ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν] *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> *om. I, add. in lacuna i*

4. 27 (273, 13) esse milites] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> milites esse *I*

In this passage, in the opinion of various scholars, there are two lacunae, the numbers of the two detachments of soldiers having been omitted. Budaeus may have had the same idea, and accordingly looked up his source, — whether *P* or *a* or *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> — and corrected the order of words in accordance with it.

5. 29 (273, 27) Caelianus] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> caelinnus *I*

With the names given correctly in the reply of Trajan, this is an easy error to emend.



6. 30 (274, 7, 8) lecti] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> leti *I*

The error is absurd and the emendation not difficult for a reader like Budaeus — certainly not with Catanaeus at hand.

7. 31 (274, 16) ad te de] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> ad te *I*

An easy error to make and to emend.

8. 32 (275, 6) te in] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> te ei in *I*

*Ei* makes no sense and the origin of the error is apparent. Budaeus could readily have emended it — or found it emended in Catanaeus.

9. *Ibid.*, quoniam multa] *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> om. *I* *crucem in contextu et in marg. apposuit i*

These words are accepted by all editors. Budaeus saw the existence of a lacuna, as the use of the cross implies.<sup>1</sup> Shall we say that he consulted his copy of *P* and found nothing there? If so, *a* has been detected in a conjecture (a successful one). But perhaps Budaeus merely noted the gap without referring to any of his possible sources of information, *P* or *a* or *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

10. 33 (276, 20) absumpsit] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> adsumpsit *I*

11. *Ibid.*, 25 dispice] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> disdice *I*

12. 34 (276, 8) coercendos ignes] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> coercendas *I*

13. 39 (278, 8) buleutae] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> bulentae *I*

In the four cases above an obvious error could easily have been independently corrected.

14. *Ibid.*, quoquo modo] *ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> (modo *add. supra i*) *I*

This is not too difficult an omission for Budaeus to have supplied, if he did not turn to Catanaeus.

15. 40 (278, 25) quod possit] *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> quod (possit *add. in marg. i*) *I*

This is not a very difficult addition to make in a defective text. It is noteworthy, however, that *i* should have inserted *possit* in the same place in which it appears in *a*. He uses his reference-signs, one of them over *quod*, with a caret following that word. He might, perhaps, have been helped by Catanaeus.

A perusal of these 15 cases will show the possibility of four hypotheses.

1. Budaeus obtained, directly or indirectly, from *P*, the same correct readings that Aldus did. If this is so, and *if* Budaeus consulted his copy in No. 9, Aldus is responsible for a successful filling of a gap.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 11 f.

2. Budaeus arrived at the correct readings by conjecture. On this supposition, No. 1 is difficult, if not impossible, to explain, and No. 4 shows that he consulted some source. The same is probably true of No. 15.

3. Budaeus may have drawn his correct readings from Aldus. However, No. 1 presents a slight difference.

4. Budaeus may have drawn all his variants from Catanaeus. Here, again, No. 1 makes us pause. We need, once more, a new study of the palaeography of the *i*-variants, to determine, if we may, whether they were added at different times, and if so, whether different strata may be distinguished.

On the whole, I think it safest to conclude, as in the case of 10(2),<sup>1</sup> that Budaeus possessed, at one time, a copy of *P*, from which he took some, but by no means all, of his variants. Others were undoubtedly furnished by Catanaeus's edition of 1518, and some may have come, as Mr. Merrill states,<sup>2</sup> from the Aldine edition. He could have found many an Aldine reading in Catanaeus, for the latter based his second edition on that of Aldus. Some of the readings agreeing with *a* and *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> might well have been independently conjectured by Budaeus. He was not reluctant to apply the art of divination, as we have seen in his variants on 10(2).<sup>3</sup>

With these considerations in mind, we may now approach the few readings that are exhibited only in the additions of *i*. If Budaeus had access to *P* directly, and if Aldus had a habit of flagrantly deserting the testimony of his ancient manuscript, we should expect to find at least some of the readings of that manuscript recovered by *i*. Our hopes were somewhat disappointed in 10(2),<sup>4</sup> nor are they more surely fulfilled in 10(1). Here are the cases.

1. 10 (267, 20) Harpocran] *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> arpocrati (*in arpocratem i*) *I*  
This is palpable conjecture on the part of *i*, and a bad one.

2. 15 (269, 5) orariis] *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> aurariis *i*  
Here is a perfectly good reading of *P*, as we see from the united testimony of *I* and *a*. There have been various attempts to improve it; the first, and perhaps the least felicitous, is that of Budaeus. Catanaeus has an excellent note on the passage.

<sup>1</sup> See *Article II*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> See *Article II*, pp. 157 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See his Teubner edition, p. xii, and *Article II*, p. 164. <sup>4</sup> See *Article II*, pp. 159 ff.

## 3. 34 (276, 7) fuerint . . . hetaeriaeque breui fient]

This is a notoriously corrupt passage, which has been variously treated. Catanaeus conjectures *fuerint, hetaeriae quamuis breues fient*. Mr. Merrill's text is that of Keil. Aldus has *fuerint, hetariae\**, *quae breues fient*, which is doubtless the reading of *P*, as that of *I* is *fierint haetariae quae breues fient*. Aldus indicates a lacuna, but he refrains from altering what he found. Not so Budaeus, who uses his reference-signs both in the text (above *haetariae*) and in the margin, where he adds *aerar*. He evidently wished to change *haetariae* to *aerariae*, — again, a most unfortunate suggestion.

4. 39 (277, 24) desedit] *i* descendit *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Pliny says of the theatre at Nicaea; *ingentibus enim rimis desedit et hiat*. The reading of *P*, *descendit*, is shown by the concordance of *I* and *a*. It was good enough for Catanaeus and Keil. Gruter conjectured *discedit*, but this must yield precedence to *i*'s *desedit*, which has the air of finality. Only two passages are cited in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* for *descendere* in the sense of "settling down" (Seneca, *Epist.* 79,2 and *Vulg. Psalm.* 103,8) but neither case is clearly apposite. However, Budaeus did not find his *emendatio palmaris* in *P*.

5. 39 (278, 5) testaceo] *a* testatio (*in testacio i*) *I*

Here *i* did not correct the error entirely.

In at least two and probably in five places, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> *i* noted the incorrectness of the text by adding his signs of reference above the line and in the margin, without being able to suggest any improvement.

With the preceding data before us, I incline to the view that Budaeus had in his possession at one time a copy of *P*, made, apparently by Juncundus (= *I*<sup>o</sup>), who included certain attempts at improving the text; that Budaeus used this transcript, — by no means systematically — in the revision of his "desk-copy," the present Bodleian Volume; and that at some later time, or times, he added conjectures, some good, some bad, some from Catanaeus, some *perhaps* from Aldus, and some of his own devising. If the variants taken from *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> are, in some cases at least, in the same ink and style as those first inserted, this earliest act of revision may not have taken place before 1518. In any case, the authority furnished by Budaeus for the reconstruction of *P* is neither very sure nor very weighty. We are now ready to examine the authority of Aldus.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 15.

## III. THE NATURE OF THE ALDINE TEXT

(a) *Conservative Retention of Questionable Readings of P*

First of all, Aldus displays his customary caution by retaining certain readings of *P*, attested as such because found in *I*. Most of these are clearly wrong.

5 (265, 14) sollicitudini] sollicitudini *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> sollicitudine *I* solitudine *a*

*Ibid.*, 17 patronam habuit] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> matronam habet *Ia*

With *patrona(m)* at the end of the letter, this is not a difficult mistake to emend, but Aldus left it.

*Ibid.*, [Antoniae] *Ia*

This is surely wrong, and is rightly bracketed by modern editors.

*Ibid.*, patrona] *ia*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> patronam *Ia*

8 (266, 20) quod] *Keil*<sup>2</sup> quodque *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> quod quidem *Keil*<sup>1</sup> *Hardy Kukula*

Possibly *quodque* might be defended.

*Ibid.*, 32 locatio cum] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> *i*<sup>2</sup> locationem *Ia*

See above, p. 16. Aldus has gone to the limit of conservatism in retaining a reading like this.

8 (267, 1) debebo] *Gronov* debeo *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Ibid.*, pietatis] *Gronov* pietati *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

These conjectures of Gronovius strike me as unnecessary. Pliny is requesting a thirty-days' leave of absence. He says: *debeo ergo domine indulgentiae tuae et pietati meae celeritatem et status ordinationem, si mihi ob utraque dederis commeatum triginta dierum*. The rather unusual expression seems to mean: "If you will grant me this leave, I owe to your courtesy and to my own sense of duty the speedy arrangement of my affairs." The use of the present *debeo* rather than the future implies that Pliny's obligation begins immediately. I find the following datives easier to understand than Gronovius's genitives.

9 (267) 12, quo desideras] *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> quod desideras *Ia*

10 (267, 24) exoptatissimi] *Gronov* exoptatissime *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Exoptatissimi* is perhaps a bit neater, though again the change is not absolutely necessary.

11 (268, 1) Mithradatis] Mithridatis *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> Mitridatis *Ia*



15 (269, 6) itineri] *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> itinere *Ia*

16 (269, 11) in provinciam] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> provinciam (in *om.*) *Ia* (*fortasse recte*) *Merrill*.

The omission of *in* is hardly to be allowed in the phrase *quali itinere in provinciam peruenias*. Aldus errs, as usual, on the side of caution.

17 A (269, 15 ff.) is connected with 17 B in *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> Orelli was the first to separate the letters.

20 (271, 3) opus est] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> opus sit *Ia* (*an ex opust?*)

Mr. Merrill's suggestion is most plausible. The error *opus sit*, at any rate, was already in *P*. Aldus strains a point in keeping it.

21 (271, 12) Gaius] *Carrion* Gabius *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

22 (271, 23) cui quae rescripsissem] *Keil* Quid quaeris scripsisse me? *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Keil's emendation is brilliant and bold. The text of *P* was evidently pretty ragged in this place, as the following reading shows.

*Ibid.*, 23 multum interest + te poscat an homines in se ut latius uelint]

The sentence is incomprehensible and, as Budaeus shows by adding crosses, cries for emendation. Aldus and Mr. Merrill prefer to leave it as it is.

23 (272, 3) et sordidum] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> est sordidum *Ia*

24 (272, 12) intriatur] *a*<sup>2</sup> intriuntur (*nota* *"/. supraposita et in marg. repetita I*) *Ia* intriunt *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

We have seen reason for attributing this reference-sign to Budaeus. He saw that the text needed emendation but made no attempt to improve it.

26 (272, 22) sum] *Gronov* *Keil*<sup>2</sup> summe *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Ibid.*, (273, 2) iis] *a*<sup>2</sup> his *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Ibid.*, 8 mea] *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> meam *Ia*

27 (273, 13) milites, etc. See above, p. 18.

29 (273, 30) ob hoc] *Keil* ob haec *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

30 (274, 11) quo] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> pro quo *Ia* See above, p. 16.

*Ibid.*, 12 iis] *Orelli* his *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

31 (274, 18) similiaque his] *i Cat.*<sup>2</sup> similia in his *Ia*. See above, p. 17.

32 (275, 8) quod qui] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> quo qui (*fortasse recte*) *Ia*. See above, p. 17.

*Ibid.*, 10 retrahuntur] *Gesner* retrahantur *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

33 (275, 21) quos] *Rittershausen* quod *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> Orelli and later edi-

tors also accept this conjecture, which is attractive but not indispensable.

*Ibid.*, et] *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> ut *Ia*

*Ibid.*, parabuntur] *Cellarius* parabantur *Ia*

This conjecture, also, though generally accepted, is probable rather than certain. Pliny's point may be that he had already ordered the apparatus for putting out fires to be made, but that through the slowness of the officials in charge none of it was on hand.

34 (276, 3) complurium] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> complurimum *a* cumplurimum *I*  
Here Mr. Merrill adds *fortasse recte* after the reading of *a*.

*Ibid.*, 7 hetariae \* quae breues fient *a*. See above, p. 21.

35 (276, 14) suscepimus] *Gierig* suscipimus *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

36 (276, 18) dis] diis *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> *Orelli*

37 (276, 23) aquae ductum] *edit. Basil.* aquaeductu *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

The lemma in the marginal note in *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> is *In aquaeductum*. The emendation, therefore, should probably be credited to Catanaeus.

*Ibid.*, 25 CC] ·cc· *Ia*

38 (277, 17) incohauerint aquae ductus et reliquerint. quid itaque compereris perfer] *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> incohauerint (inchoauerint) quid itaque compereris per aquaeductus et reliquerint, fer *Ia*

Here *I* and *a* retained a curious error of *P*, which apparently enables us to detect the length of line in one of its ancestors. If the words were arranged thus:

AQVAEDVCTVSETRELIQVERINT  
QUIDITAQ.COMPERERISPER  
FER

a scribe in copying such an original might have written line 3 after line 1, and then discovering his error, added line 2, with signs of transfer, which were unnoticed by the writer who copied him. Line 1 has 24 letters and line 2, 21 (or with QVE written out, 23). The clever Catanaeus solved the puzzle. He was a professional emender and a good one.

39 (277, 22) plus] *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Here Mr. Merrill returns to a reading of Aldus, now backed up by *I*, which modern editors have been loath to accept. Hardy calls it unintelligible, and adopts, with Keil, the conjecture of C. F. W. Mueller. A variety of other suggestions will be found in *Orelli*. Whether Aldus is right or not, he has retained the reading of *P*.

*Ibid.*, 24 desedit] *i* descendit *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 21.

*Ibid.*, 25 an sit] *Cellarius* aut sit *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Ibid.*, 30 Nicaeenses] *Nicenses Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup> So 40 (278, 18, 23).

40 (278, 29) sunt] *Ia Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Here we should probably read *sint*. See above, p. 8.

Here, then, are 45 readings of *a* and, as the evidence of *I* now tells us, also of *P*, which the consensus of editorial opinion, — rightly in most cases — has regarded as errors. Of the certain emendations, Catanaeus has a far larger number to his credit (17) than any subsequent scholar. Five of his readings are also in the Second Aldine, and one of the other corrections is also there; whether Aldus himself had introduced these improvements before his death, we do not know. In any case, the conservative character of his first edition is amply attested by the list above; it comports with the proofs of his cautious procedure that we have seen elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

#### (b) *The Amount of Conjecture in the Aldine Text*

We are now ready for our final test of Aldus, the consideration of the readings which he alone presents. We should expect, *a priori*, that a certain number of printer's blunders should be laid at his door. We may compare their probable number with the errors of *I*, to determine which of the two texts is the more carefully copied. We should also expect, as I have admitted from the start,<sup>2</sup> a certain number of emendations, of deliberate endeavors to improve the text. On the frequency and the flagrancy of these alterations depends our general estimate of the Aldine edition as a trustworthy representative of the *Parisinus*. Mr. Merrill<sup>3</sup> charges Aldus in Books 8 and 10 with "a rather long list of unnecessary, and in some instances particularly flagrant, desertion of *Parisinus* within a comparatively short portion of text." He would hold "that this alone was sufficient to prove that Aldus must not be trusted as a loyal, or even a judicious, follower of *Parisinus* in any place where he presents us, as he often enough does, with unsupported readings."

With this estimate of Aldus the reader should compare that which

<sup>1</sup> *Article I*, pp. 163 ff.; *Article II*, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Carnegie Publication*, pp. 64 f.

<sup>3</sup> *C. P.*, XIV (1919), pp. 31 ff.

I have endeavored to set forth. According to Mr. Merrill, further, the transgressions of Aldus can be readily detected by his disagreements with *I(i)*. For *I* is a direct copy of *P*, and Budaeus inserted his variants directly from the ancient codex, adding only a few conjectural emendations from time to time.<sup>1</sup> Our inspection of *I* and *i* in Books 8 and 10, I fear, will hardly justify any such conclusion. At any rate, the reader should keep these diverse estimates before his mind as he considers the following passages. I will mark with a star (\*) the readings that I think might well be adopted, and with a dagger (†) those that Mr. Merrill has put on his black list of Aldus's unnecessary, and sometimes flagrant, deviations from the *Parisinus*.

1. \*† 4 (264, 32) nam fundos] *I* nam et fundos *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Merrill, preceded by Kukula, excludes *et*, following the authority of *I*. But *I* has made minor omissions of this sort both in Book 8 and in 10(1).<sup>2</sup>

2. 4 (265, 1) solent] *litt. so init. uers. omissas inseruit manus a*  
The Harvard copy of *a* agrees with that of Mr. Merrill. It were hazardous to say just when the omitted syllable was added. It is at least fairly ancient, as the use of the tall *s* shows.

3. *Ibid.*, 3 apud te] *a*<sup>2</sup> adit te *a* aduerte *I* auget *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>  
*P*, apparently, did not have the right reading, divined by *a*<sup>2</sup>; possibly the passage was blurred in *P*, like those that occur in II.<sup>3</sup> Both *a* and *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>) seem to have tried, unsuccessfully, to emend what they found in *P*. They both, as Mr. Merrill might have noted, begin new sentences with *Adit* and *Aduerte*. It is curious that *a*<sup>2</sup>, while getting the correct *apud te*, begins a new sentence with it; this leaves the following *fidem* without construction. This case should be added to the emendations of *I*. Aldus, too, has sought to improve on the reading of *P*. He did not, however, abandon the ancient book without cause.

4. *Ibid.*, 5 patris] *I Cat.*<sup>2</sup> patriis *a*

In the phrase *matris liberalitatem et statim patris hereditatem* I can hardly think *patriis* a deliberate emendation. I make bold to call it a misprint, especially since it is corrected in *a*<sup>2</sup>, — a fact that Mr. Merrill might have noted in the apparatus.

<sup>1</sup> *C. P.*, II (1907), p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 3 f.; *Article* I, pp. 158 f.

<sup>3</sup> See *Carnegie Publication*, pp. 11 f., 48 f.



5. (265, 12) *Inscript.* Iatraliptae I Harpocrati Iatraliptae a  
Possibly Aldus inserted the name of the physician, but just as possibly *I* carelessly omitted it. He has made a careless omission in the heading of 17 A; see above, p. 4.

6. 6 (265, 22) *Inscript.* Gratias agit I Agit gratias a  
The use of *Gratias agit* in 2 (263, 17) indicates that Aldus, or his compositor, may have been careless here, perhaps misled by the opening words of the letter, *Ago gratias*. In 51 (282, 11), Avantius has *Gratias agentis* and Aldus *Agit gratias*. The verb stands first in 85 (296, 25: *Commendat*) and last in 94 (299, 19: *petit*) and 104 (303, 16: *petit*). On the principle that the deviser of the headings allowed himself a bit of freedom, *a's Agit gratias* in the present instance may be right after all.

7. \*† *Ibid.*, 29 esse eum] i et si eum I eum scilicet a *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>  
*Eum scilicet* makes excellent sense and was read by editors until Mr. Hardy adopted *esse eum* from the Bodleian volume. It is the correction added by Budaëus, but after what we have seen of his habits, we have no right to infer that he found this reading in *P*. It may well be an example of his art of conjecture. *Et si*, in *I*, is obviously wrong. If *P* read that, then *a* has emended it in his fashion as *i* has in his. But I am not sure that *et si* was the reading of *P*. If Jucundus had found *scilicet* and abbreviated it, it might well have resembled *si*. We saw that *I* could misinterpret abbreviation of *I*° in Book 8.<sup>1</sup> *Et si* is a strange error to derive from *esse*. I am inclined to believe that *scilicet* stood in *P*, perhaps before, not after, *eum*. *I* might have intruded *et*, with *scriberet* still in his mind. *I* (*I*°) also has a tendency to transpose words now and then.<sup>2</sup> So far from regarding this case as evidence of high-handed proceeding on the part of Aldus, I am inclined to attribute such an act to Budaëus, to assume a scribal error by *I*, and to return to the Aldine reading.

8. † 8 (266, 26) kalendis Septembribus] Kat. septembribus I et coni. Schaefer Kal. Septembris a

If *P* was a majuscule manuscript like II, the syllable BUS would be written B. If Aldus had *Septembrib.* in his copy, the printer could readily have taken this for *Septembris*. Aldus was aware that the plural should be used; at least he has *Kal. Octobreis* in 17 A (269, 19). Mr.

<sup>1</sup> See *Article I*, pp. 171, 175.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 3.

Merrill is going rather far in finding evidence in the present reading for a wilful desertion of *P*.

9. 11 (267, 28) Postumio] Posthumio *a*

Aldus, like *I*, now and then adopts the spellings regarded as correct in his day rather than what he must have found in *P*. This practice is not commendable, but it does not obscure for us the probable orthography followed in the ancient manuscript.

10. 12 (268, 9) domine] dominae *a*

This is a palpable misprint, corrected (as Mr. Merrill might have stated) in *a*.<sup>2</sup>

11. *Ibid.*, bene faciendi] *I* beneficiendi *a*

Mr. Merrill wrongly states that these words are written separately in *I*; really they are close together (with abbreviation of *bene*). Since the writing at the end of the line is crowded, *I* might perhaps have written the words separately if he had had room; but that we do not know. Aldus, or his compositor, at any rate is wrong.

12. \*† 14 (268, 24) optime imperator, maximae] optime  $\overline{\text{imp}}$ . maxim(a)e *I Cat.*<sup>2</sup> optime Imp. Maxime *a*

Pliny opens his letter of congratulation with the words: *Victoriae tuae, optime imperator, maximae, pulcherrimae, antiquissimae, et tuo nomine et rei publicae gratulor*. Aldus's reading is evidently not accidental, as the use of the capital *M* indicates. Catanaeus apparently scored a clever conjecture after his wont, and is now supported by *I*. If *I* got its reading from *P*, then Aldus has deliberately deserted his ancient source. I am not sure that he did, or that *Maxime* is wrong. In the *Panegyricus*, Pliny announces the godhead of Trajan in no uncertain terms, and declares that he no less than Jupiter deserves the double appellation *optimus maximus*.<sup>1</sup> Hence in his burst of exultation over Trajan's victory, it is not too much for Pliny to salute his chief as *optime Imperator maxime*.<sup>2</sup> This is far more emphatic than to take *maximae* as one in the series of adjectives; it hardly adds anything to *pulcherrimae*. A series of three — adjectives, nouns or verbs — is common enough in Pliny,

<sup>1</sup> Ideoque ille parens hominum deorumque optimi prius, deinde maximi nomine colitur, quo praeclarior laus tua quem non minus constat optimum esse quam maximum.

<sup>2</sup> In *Letter 1*, the title used is *imperator sanctissime*; in 4, *imperator optime*. His regular salutation is simply *domine*.

but so is a series of two. He also can use two adjectives without conjunction,<sup>1</sup> or two nouns.<sup>2</sup> If *P*, then, had *maxime*, it is easy to see how *I*, or *I*<sup>o</sup>, could transform it, unconsciously, to *maximae*, owing to the two adjectives in *ae* that follow. Or it may be, Jucundus anticipated Catanaeus in an attractive, but by no means certain conjecture.

13. \*† *Ibid.*, 27 cum] *I* ut a *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Ut* in the Aldine text seems required after the preceding *tam laetus*, and was unquestioned by editors until Kukula adopted *cum* from *I*. If *cum* is read, *tam* is left hanging in the air. Perhaps *ut* is *a*'s conjecture. At any rate, I think it should be accepted.

14. 17 B (270, 1) mittere] *I Cat.*<sup>2</sup> mittete a

A misprint, corrected by *a*.<sup>2</sup>

15. \*† *Ibid.*, 3 agantur] *I coni. Gesner* aguntur a *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

*Agantur* is preferable but by no means necessary; at least Orelli and Keil did not admit Gesner's conjecture into their texts.

16. \*† *Ibid.*, cum maxime] *I coni. Perizonius Keil* cum Maximo a

In the preceding letter, Pliny informs the Emperor of his arrival and speaks of his occupation with the financial affairs of Prusa; the more he looks into them, he declares, the more he finds they need investigation. In 17 B, written not long after the preceding, he suggests that a competent land-surveyor be sent by the Emperor to assist him in recovering money from public contractors. He can predict a considerable amount, he concludes, from his investigation of the accounts of Prusa, "which I am going over with Maximus," — *quam cum Maximo tracto*. So reads Aldus. Maximus was a trusted freedman and procurator of Trajan who, as we see from *Letters* 27 and 85, was associated with Pliny. It is not unnatural that he should find his services helpful immediately on his arrival in a complicated problem like the finances of Prusa. The reading *quam cum maxime tracto*, "which I have in hand at the present moment," makes sense; the conjecture of Perizonius found favor with editors like Longolius, Orelli and Keil, and is now backed up by *I*. It should be noted, however, that Budaeus has added his usual signs of reference with nothing further in the margin.

<sup>1</sup> E. g., *Epist.* 1, 5, 1 (7, 3): Vidistine quemquem M. Regulo timidiorem, humiliorem; *ibid.*, 15 (9, 18): est enim locuples, factiosus.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., 1, 14, 7 (21, 16): Aciliano uero ipsi plurimum uigoris, industriae, quamquam in maxima uerecundia.

Did he merely doubt the text (*maxime*) or had he knowledge through Jucundus's copy (*I*<sup>o</sup>) of the reading that Aldus had taken from *P*? Uncial *E* and *O* are not dissimilar. *I*<sup>o</sup> might have copied falsely and then added the correct reading, thus giving a doublet of the kind that we have already noted.<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to accept Aldus's reading, and at any rate not to be certain that he got it by deliberately casting aside what he found in *P*.

17. † 18 (270, 8) et] *I* ut *a*

The Emperor, referring to Pliny's description of his journey in 17 A, wishes that he had had as easy a time in going from Ephesus to Bithynia by land as in getting to Ephesus by sea: *cuperem . . . pervenire in Bithyniam potuisses ac simile tibi iter ab Epheso et navigationi fuisset*. This is the reading of *I*, which Mr. Merrill is the first to venture to print. *Similis et* followed by the dative is a most dubious bit of Latinity. *Et* and *atque* used with *similis* regularly, if not always, introduce clauses, or words not depending in construction on *similis* itself. Pliny's favorite construction with *similis* is apparently the dative.<sup>2</sup> *Et*, I should say, stood in *P*, a hard reading, which *a* tried to make a bit smoother; his *ut* is slightly more tolerable — at least Catanaeus and Orelli suffered it. Catanaeus, to be sure, has been credited with what seems to me the successful emendation, *ei*. Keil cites Catanaeus for *ei*, apparently following Cortius-Longolius. But the statement in the latter edition is wrong, as Orelli pointed out. Schaefer should be credited with the correction, which Hardy and Kukula rightly adopted.

18. \*† *Ibid.*, 15 *sufficientes*] *I coni. Scheffer* *sufficienter a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> Keil

*Sufficienter* is less elegant than *sufficientes*, though perhaps just for that reason we should hesitate to improve it. It is found in the *Digest*, 7, 1, 15 (*ed.* Mommsen, I, p. 221) and may be the very word that the Emperor dictated. It was good enough for Keil, and Longolius defended it against Scheffer. We now see that he was anticipated by Jucundus, unless *I* misread *r* for *s* in copying his minuscule original.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> He is fond of using the dative of the present participle or an adjective after *similis*, a construction found not infrequently in the poets. Cf. e. g., 7, 27, 9: *similis uocanti*; 8, 6, 10; *similis querenti*; 8, 14, 24: 8, 20, 6; 9, 5, 3; 9, 34, 2: *similis otioso*, etc.



19. † 19 (270, 26) *regerere*] *I Cat.*<sup>2</sup> *regere a*

*Regerere* is of course correct. Aldus's error can be committed by anybody in copying or in setting type. It is rather ludicrous to take it for an act of wilful disloyalty to *P*.

20. † 20 (271, 9) *paucissimos*] *I paucissimos milites a Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

According to Mr. Merrill, Aldus has been caught in a wanton interpolation. But if *I* omitted *seruos* in the preceding letter (270, 22), why not *milites* here?

21. 23 (272, 3) *Prusenses, domine, balineum habent et sordidum et uetus itaque . . . tamen aestimans . . . nouum fieri, quod uideris mihi desiderio eorum indulgere posse*]

Mr. Merrill has reproduced the text of *I* indicating the places where, in his opinion, lacunae occur, and noting that *aestimans* is corrected from *aestimamus* and that a cross stands in the margin. This cross, as we have seen, is apparently the addition of Budaeus; I cannot tell from the rotograph whether he or *I* changed *aestimamus* to *aestimans*. Aldus's reading may look like the most flagrant sort of gap-filling. After *uetus* he has: *Id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desyderant, ego tamen aestimans nouum fieri debere, uideris mihi desyderio eorum indulgere posse*. Still, *id* before *itaque* could readily have been dropped by *I*<sup>o</sup> or *I*, and a section of text as long as *indulgentia tua restituere desyderant ego* was omitted by either one or the other of them in Book 8.<sup>1</sup> If Aldus put in all this, it is strange that he did not arrange some construction for *aestimans*. Keil, therefore, indicated a lacuna after *aestimans*, not suspecting the rest of what he found in *a*. Catanaeus follows *a*; so do Kortte and Longolius, the former adding a learned note on anakoluthon. Thorough-going attempts at emendation will be found in Hardy and Kukula. Now *aestimans* is pretty clearly the reading of *P*, as the correction of either *I* or *i* indicates. I should infer that *aestimamus* is a conjecture by Jucundus, who also added *quod* before *uideris*, patching the fragments as best he could. I am not certain that Aldus did no patching here; at the same time, he may well have strayed less far from *P* than did *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>). This instance is, commendably, not on Mr. Merrill's list. It is in any case fully as damaging to *I* as to *a*.

22. \*† 26 (273, 1) *dabitque*] *I dabit ipse a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> *Keil, Hardy dabitque ipse Kukula*

<sup>1</sup> See *Article I*, p. 159.



Recent editors find it hard to surrender *ipse*; it could easily have been omitted by *I*. Possibly Kukula is right in keeping *que*, which *a* could have omitted.

23. \*† 29 (273, 30) ut iam dixerant sacramentum; ita nondum distributi in numeros erant] (sacramentum *in* sacramento *i*²) *I* ut iam dixerant sacramento militar i nondum, etc., *a* *Cat.*²

Both *dicere sacramentum* and *dicere sacramento* are found, but the latter is the *lectio difficilior*. Note that Budaeus has it, inserting it later, according to Mr. Merrill. If *militari* followed, *I* (*I*°) could have bungled it, combining the *m* with *sacramento* into *sacramentum* and getting *ita* out of *militari*, especially if Jucundus had abbreviated that word. Perhaps *P* also had *ita*, as Keil conjectured, and *a* carelessly omitted it. I am inclined to read with Keil: *ut iam dixerant sacramento militari, ita*, etc.

24. 31 (274, 17) Nicaeae] Nicaeae *a* nicae (*in fine uersus*) *I*  
This is one of *a*'s modernized spellings. Or was it in *P*? In 39 (277, 30), both *a* and *I* have *Nicenses* for *Nicaeenses*. In the present passage, *I*'s *nicae* is, as we have seen above (p. 4), at the end of the line, but with plenty of room for the scribe to write the word had he wished. We cannot be sure whether he was copying *Nicaeae* or *Nicae*.

25. † 31 (274, 26) reliqui] *I* *Cat.*² relinqui *a*  
This, too, is one of the offences. Quite to understand its nature, we must glance back at the previous sentence: *Nam et reddere poenae post longum tempus . . . nimis seuerum putabam; eosdem rursus a re publica pasci otiosos inutile, non pasci etiam periculosum existimabam, necessario ergo rem totam, dum te consulerem, in suspenso reliqui*. Obviously *reliqui* is correct, and one might account for the meaningless *relinqui* as a careless error, did not Aldus put a period after *periculosum*, taking that clause as depending on the preceding *putabam* and beginning a new sentence with *Existimabam*, on which *relinqui* is made, rather clumsily, to depend. The sharp-eyed Catanaeus saw the right reading, but I doubt if it stood in *P*, for the reason that in *I*, no less than in *a*, *Existimabam* begins the sentence. Jucundus apparently found *relinqui* in *P*, as Aldus did, and treated it in the same way. But he then, anticipating Catanaeus, divined the real construction, emended *relinqui*, and put a full stop before *necessario*. *I* reproduced these changes, but also left the full stop after *periculosum* and the capital

letter in *Existimabam*. Aldus, therefore, instead of abandoning what he saw in *P*, preferred to strain at an interpretation of a faulty reading rather than to emend it.

26. 31 (275, 1) qui dicerent] *a*<sup>2</sup> *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> quid *a* quod *I*  
Pliny is discussing the case of certain convicts perhaps illegally released. The closing sentences read in Mr. Merrill's text: *ut decreta quibus damnati erant proferebantur, ita nulla monumenta quibus liberati probarentur. erant tamen qui dicerent deprecantes iussu proconsulum legatorumue dimissos. addebat fidem quod credibile erat neminem hoc ausum sine auctore.*

The reading of *P*, it would seem, was *quid*, retained by Aldus though it was hard, if not impossible, to construe. Catanaeus solved the riddle, as usual, and the correct *qui* also appears in the second Aldine. Jucundus attempted an emendation, changing *quid* to *quod*, and — as Mr. Merrill might have stated in the apparatus — taking *erant* as part of the preceding sentence; there is a full stop after the word. One can construe *quod dicerent*, etc., as the subject of *addebat*, taking the final *quod* clause as causal. This makes a clumsy sentence; we cannot blame *I* if he did not quite master it and began afresh with *Addebat*. Aldus, again, has preferred to retain a faulty reading of *P*, while Jucundus has attempted, in the wrong way, to correct it.

27. \*† 32 (275, 13-14) solent et ad] *I* solent enim eius modi ad *a* *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Aldus has the *lectio difficilior*; *eiusmodi* in the sense of "men of this sort" is unusual. *I* might have omitted it, or Jucundus have emended it away.

28. 33 (275, 20) Gerusian et Iseon] Gerusian et Isaeum *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>  
Gerusian & Isson *a* gerusian netisson (‘/. in contextu et in marg.) *I*. Here *a* is nearer to the (false) reading of *P* than *I* is. *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>) committed a dittography. The reading naturally puzzled Budaëus, though neither he nor Jucundus — nor Aldus — tried to emend. Catanaeus, however, *more suo*, broke through. He mis-spells, but that is a trifle. I append his note, as a specimen of his learned care.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Isson) vide an legendum Isaeum, id est templum Isidis, sicut serapaeum, templum Serapidis, quae Dion in vita Titi meminit incendio absumpta. quidam Isson putant aedificium quadratum habens paria latera, alii instar circi pariter vtrinque distans. Sunt qui legant Hysson locum, scilicet certaminis: quia ὕσσος hastam significet.

29. 37 (276, 23) HS  $\overline{\text{XXX}}$   $\overline{\text{CCCXVIII}}$  ·hs. XXX · $\overline{\text{CCCXVIII}}$  *I*  
 ·H — S — xxx ·                      ccc ·xxviii    *a*    HS ·XXX ·    CCC ·  
 XXVIII *a*<sup>2</sup>

The aqueduct cost 3,328,000 sesterces according to Mr. Merrill, 3,329,000 according to Mr. Hardy, who cites *I* inaccurately. Here *I* is nearer to *P* than is *a*, who should not have omitted the stroke above the last set of numbers. If XXX was enclosed within the strokes that make it 3,000,000, both Aldus and Juvenius failed to understand them; but perhaps they were omitted in *P*. Whether *a* erroneously increased the number at the end or *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>) erroneously decreased it, is hard to tell. Error is easy either way.

30. † *Ibid.*, imperfectum adhuc, emissus destructus etiam est] imperfectus adhuc emissus (emissus *corr. i in contextu ex* emissum *I, nota /. in contextu et in marg. apposita*) destructus etiam est *I* imperfectus adhuc relictus ac (atque *Keil*) etiam (relictus et iam *Orelli*) destructus est *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> *Orelli Keil*

This is still about the aqueduct. It seems altogether likely that Aldus has tried by emendation to make some sense out of an unintelligible passage — that is, if we may assume that *I* with *emissum* exactly reproduces *P*. Budaëus, followed by Mr. Merrill, has achieved syntax but not sense. Aldus, reasoning back from *hoc quoque relicto* in the next sentence, has substituted *relictus* for *emissum* and added a suspicious *ac* (it should be *atque*) before the (transposed) *etiam*. Catanaeus accepted the Aldine text. Orelli, Keil and (even with the knowledge of *I*) Hardy have introduced further improvements of the Aldine reading. Mr. Merrill suggests, without adopting, *remissus* for *emissus*. Possibly a phrase like *immissa aqua* lies concealed in *emissum ac*.

31. 39 (278, 1) et iam] etiam *a*

Aldus has failed to separate the two words, which, if *P* was the book of which II was a part, he would find close together in the *scriptura continua*; Mr. Merrill should have noted that they stand as closely together in *I*. This instance is not important for our purposes. A similar sort of error is the wrong accentuation, 10 (267, 21) *νόμον*. In neither case does Aldus's mistake conceal from us the reading of *P*.

32. *Ibid.*, 8 ex ea pecunia quam buleutae additi beneficio tuo aut iam obtulerunt ob introitum aut nobis exigentibus conferent]

For *additi*, conjectured by Casaubon, *I* has *addit*, which is apparently

the reading of *P*. Budaeus adds his reference-sign in text and margin, but makes no suggestion. Aldus, with *addunt*, is caught in a faulty conjecture. Even if the change was made by his printer, as Mr. Hardy allows may be the case, it is a deliberate change. Catanaeus followed Aldus, and Longolius continued to read *addunt*, even after Casaubon's emendation, but it can hardly be accepted: Casaubon's correction might have seemed a bit venturesome on the basis of *addunt*, but it is corroborated unquestionably by the reading of *I*.

33. † *Ibid.*, conferent] *I Cat.*<sup>2</sup> conferunt *a*

Here it may be Aldus's compositor that was to blame; the deviation from *P* was hardly premeditated.

34. \* 40 (278, 21) tunc autem a privatis exigi opera tempus, cum theatrum . . . factum erit. opera tempus cum] *coni. Hardy* operacum (opera/cum in *marg. i*) *I* opera tibi cura sit cum *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup> Keil, Kukula opera censeo cum *Nettleship*

If *I* gives the exact reading of *P*, both Aldus and Budaeus have tried to emend it. But *I* might have botched this passage as he did 37 (277, 6) *testaceo opere agenda*. See above, p. 8.

35. *Ibid.*, 25 illis] illis *i Cat.*<sup>2</sup> illi *I* illa *a*

Here the idiosyncrasy of *a* is only apparent. See above, p. 17.

36. \*† *Ibid.*, 27 nulla provincia et non peritos et ingeniosos homines habet. et non] *I* est quae non *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Aldus's reading aroused no suspicion even in Kukula and Hardy, to whom the readings of *I* were accessible. Possibly Mr. Hardy had not collated this passage completely. By following *I*, Mr. Merrill stands sponsor for the puzzling statement, "No province has both inexperienced men and men of genius." If he wished to retain *I*, he should have transposed *et* and *non*. I prefer to see here one of the minor omissions and misreadings of the text by *I*, such as we have examined above (p. 2).

37. \*† *Ibid.*, 28 habet] *I* habeat *a Cat.*<sup>2</sup>

Of course if Aldus conjectured *est quae*, he might have changed *habet* to *habeat*. But if Jucundus made the error of *et* for *est quae*, and later, on revising his copy, found the ungrammatical *habeat*, he might well have altered that to *habet*. *Habeat* is read by everybody but Mr. Merrill.

These, then, are the readings, 37 in all, given only in the Aldine edition, that are not accepted by Mr. Merrill. Nineteen of them are evi-



dence, according to him, that Aldus deserts *Parisinus* unnecessarily and injudiciously for a conjecture of his own. My analysis of these cases is as follows. A few of them are grouped under more than one heading. Numerals in italics indicate the readings on Mr. Merrill's black list.

A. Errors of carelessness (11). Some of these may be laid to the charge of the printer's devil, but as Aldus is ultimately responsible for all, I will make no attempt to distinguish between these two varieties. Nos. 2; 4; 6 (possibly *a* is right); 8; 10; 14; 19; 22 (possible omission of *que*; see also under *F*); 23 (possible omission of *ita*; see also under *F*); 29 (omission of stroke above the numbers; see also under *H*); 33.

B. Wrong division of words (1). No. 31 (but this error is also in *I*).

C. Aldus really agrees with *I* (= *P*) in an error (1). No. 35 (either Mr. Merrill's apparatus is wrong or his reading is a feature of the *Agere*-text).

D. Aldus retains an error of *P*, *I* making a different error (1). No. 28.

E. Aldus retains an error *P*, *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>) making a conjecture (2). Nos. 25; 26.

F. Aldus is correct, *I* making a scribal error (12). Nos. 1; 5; 7 (scribal error in *I*, unsuccessful conjecture in *i*, possibly a transposition of words in *a*); 15; 16; 20; 22 (see also under *A*); 23 (see also under *A*); 27; 34; 36; 37.

G. Aldus is correct, *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>) making a conjecture (1). No. 18 (possibly the error of *I* is scribal); 21 (possibly *a* interpolated; see under *J*).

H. Scribal error, whether by *I* or by *a* is uncertain (1). No. 29 (see under *A*).

I. Aldus changes *P* to a modernized spelling (3). Nos. 9; 11; 24 (?).

J. The most probable cases of conjecture in *a* (6). Nos. 12 (still, *a* may agree with *P* in the correct reading); 13 (whether *a* gets his reading by conjecture or not, it should be accepted); 17 (if *I* = *P*, the reading needs emendation, though *a*'s conjecture seems unsatisfactory); 21 (whether *a* interpolated words or not, *P* was defective and the reading of *I* contains an attempt at emendation); 30 (*a* unsuccessfully attempts to emend a wrong reading of *P*); 32 (the same as in 30).

If the above analysis is, in the main, exact, *a* is guilty in very few if any cases of the offence ascribed to him on 19 counts by Mr. Merrill,



namely the *intentional* abandonment of *satisfactory* readings of his ancient codex.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. THE COMPARATIVE VALUE OF *a* AND *I* (*i*) AS SOURCES FOR *P*

We may now sum up our results and apply them to the chief problem at stake, the relation of the texts of *a* and *I* (*i*) to *Parisinus*.

First, Aldus modernizes the spelling occasionally as he does elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> But so does *I*; see above, p. 6.

In a *few* cases (not more than six, according to my estimate) Aldus attempts to remedy an obvious defect in *P*. This is the kind of conjectural emendation which I have always imputed to Aldus.<sup>3</sup> His tendency, however, as is clear from *C*, *D*, *E* (4 cases), is to retain the reading of *P* even though it is doubtful. Compare the list of 45 cases given above (pp. 22-25).

The habits of *I* are similarly conservative, but his text undoubtedly contains some conjecture, made either by him or by the writer of his original (*I*<sup>o</sup>), who may well have been Jucundus. The preceding list exhibits, according to my estimate, one sure case of an unsuccessful attempt by *I* (*I*<sup>o</sup>) to emend the text (No. 21), one successful conjecture (No. 25), and one plausible but not certain conjecture (No. 18). The doublet readings in *I* include six cases of what seems to me conjecture, whether successful or not; see above, pp. 6 ff. In particular, the substitutions of *curae delegatae* . . . *officiis* for *curis deligati* . . . *officii* (No. 2), of *exquirere* for *excudere* (No. 5), of *testacei operis agenda* for *testaceo peragenda* (No. 9) betray the emending hand. The total amount, as I have noted above (p. 9), is small. The text furnished to Budaëus and that which Aldus printed are virtually on a par in their freedom from the element of conjecture. We may be sure that the intention of both Aldus and Jucundus was to reproduce the words of *Parisinus* with as little change as possible.

Far different is the nature of the variants added by Budaëus. According to Mr. Merrill:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *C. P.*, XIV (1919), pp. 31 ff., quoted above, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See *Carnegie Publication*, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Carnegie Publication*, p. 65; *Article I*, pp. 190 f.; *Article II*, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> *C. P.*, II (1907), p. 156; *ibid.*, XIV (1919), p. 32: "Throughout the transcript, as in that from Book VIII, Budé with his own hand made some corrections in the way of revision or (apparently much less frequently) of conjectural emendation."

Budaeus doubtless did not depend on Giocondo's copy of the Paris *codex*, but had the *codex* itself before him. This *handexemplar* of Budaeus, is therefore, so far as the corrections and manuscript supplements go, and the few emendations of Budaeus himself, and of others, can be sifted out from among them, a more immediate witness to the readings of the unique and ancient *Parisinus*, and a more trustworthy witness, than the "printer's copy" of Aldus could possibly have been.

Mr. Merrill has studied the *i*-variants throughout the volume, as I have not, but I fail to find this estimate of the additions of Budaeus corroborated in the parts that I have examined in the present article and its predecessors. If Budaeus had the *Parisinus* accessible and had adopted its readings except for the "few" emendations that he "later"<sup>1</sup> inserted, we should expect among the *i*-variants a far greater array of right readings not in *I* or *a*, on the supposition that Aldus treated his original in the free and easy fashion attributed to him by Keil and Mr. Merrill. As a matter of fact, I cannot surely point to a single instance in 10(1) in which Budaeus corrected *indubitably with the help of P* a reading in which *I* has a scribal error and *a* a conjecture.<sup>2</sup> Budaeus may well have had in his possession, at some time, a copy of *P* (= *I*<sup>o</sup>) from which he introduced some corrections into *I*, but he also derived much help from the second edition of Catanaeus and perhaps from Aldus. Mr. Merrill's comprehensive statement that variants from such sources were added *post aliquot annos* is not borne out by those readings which he himself calls *i* and not *i*<sup>2</sup>. Possibly a fresh examination of the palaeography of the *i*-variants may furnish some criterion for distinguishing the later additions. Mr. Merrill states that the "few emendations of Budaeus himself, and others, can be sifted out." It is easy, of course, to see that several of the conjectures of *i* could have come only from Catanaeus.<sup>3</sup> But if Catanaeus is his source in these places, why not in the other places in which *i* agrees with *Cat.*<sup>2</sup>, though also with *a*? One knows not where to draw the line. If the marks of Catanaeus were not so plain and those of *P* so dubious, we should normally assume that Budaeus followed *P* regularly and *Cat.*<sup>2</sup> incidentally.

<sup>1</sup> Teubner edition, p. XII: lectionibus ex codice Parisino excerptis (et infeliciter quibusdam aliis post aliquot annos de libris impressis Catanaei et Aldi depromptis).

<sup>2</sup> The only cases that seem to deserve consideration of this score are 6 (265, 29) *esse eum* and 37 (276, 30) *emissus*. But see above, pp. 27, 34.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 16.

As it is, the reverse may well be true. It therefore follows, as we have already seen, that the evidence of Budaëus, at least in the portions of the *Letters* that I have examined, here and in my previous articles, must be used with caution. In 10(1) as in Book 8, the equation  $P = I + i$  will by no means solve our problem.

In point of accuracy, the Aldine edition is far the superior of *I*. We have found 11 careless slips or misprints in *a*, and some 35 scribal errors in *I*, including a dozen omissions.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Merrill declares:<sup>2</sup>

The reader may, if he choose, accept the text of Aldus in every detail as the *ipsissima verba* of Pliny; but he should recognize the only principle on which he can accept it: it must be as a brilliantly emended text, and not at all as one founded securely upon the following of *Parisinus*, or of any other manuscript source, whenever it departs from our extant manuscript tradition.

In two of the cases just mentioned, Mr. Merrill accepts *a*, with a shrug, adding *fortasse recte* to the reading of *I*.<sup>3</sup> In all the others, he prints the reading of *a*, or substantially its reading, without comment.<sup>4</sup> In 11 of these readings, *a* is supported by *i*. In the twenty odd that remain, does Mr. Merrill believe that Aldus divined the truth unaided? In Book 8, I presented a list of 38 readings of *a*, which, though unsupported by *M*, had been accepted by Keil, despite his views of Aldus; with the discovery of *I*, these readings proved to be not the brilliant inventions of Aldus, but the ancient tradition of *P*.<sup>5</sup> Were another source for 10(1) of the value of *M* to come to light, I venture to prophesy that the authority of Aldus would gain more, and not less, acceptance.

## V. CONCLUSION

At the end of the *Carnegie Publication* (p. 65) I remarked by way of summary:

With the discovery of the Morgan fragment, a new criterion of Aldus is offered. I believe that it is the surest starting-point from which to investi-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 2-5. One or two of the instances given may be deliberate alterations, see p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *C. P.*, XIV, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> 4 (264, 27) *meus om.*; 40 (278, 22) *constitutionem*.

<sup>4</sup> In 10 (267, 21) the Aldine *μεμφύτου* is corrected to *μεμφίτου*. In 11 (268, 5) Mommsen's conjecture of *Anchariae* for the Aldine *Panchariae* is accepted.

<sup>5</sup> See *Article I*, pp. 160 ff.

gate Aldus's relation to his ancient manuscript. I admit that for Book 10, Avantius and the Bodleian volume in its added parts are better authorities for the *Parisinus* than is Aldus. I admit that Aldus resorted throughout the text of the *Letters*, — in some cases unhappily — to the customary privilege of emendation. But I nevertheless maintain that for the entire text he is a much better authority than the Bodleian volume as a whole, and that he should be given, not absolute confidence, but far more confidence than editors have thus far allowed him.

I am not reluctant to recant in the face of probable fact, and as a result of what I have learned from the facsimiles of Book 10 and the added portion of Book 8, I would now retract the third sentence of the preceding paragraph. I think I have shown reason for rejecting the views held by Keil and Merrill on the nature of the edition of Avantius and of the text of the supplements in Books 8 and 10. The rest of the paragraph can serve as a summary of my later articles. Though Aldus attempted to restore a few passages obviously corrupt, he aimed in general to reproduce the text of *P* with scrupulous care. His unsupported readings, therefore, should not be flung aside, but seriously considered and often accepted. Mr. Merrill, it appears, would judge Aldus guilty in any case unless he can be proved innocent. I would assume his innocence unless he is proved guilty. I am speaking, perhaps it is necessary to add, not of the moral character of Aldus but of the accuracy of his transcription of *P* and of his fidelity to that ancient source.

I am convinced, furthermore, that an examination of the entire text of the *Letters* from the point of view here presented would yield fruitful results. A necessary preliminary is a fresh evaluation of the classes of the manuscripts with due attention to Carlsson's recent study of the text.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, we need to know how many classes there are. In a paper read at the meeting of the American Philological Association last December, Professor S. E. Stout maintained that the third family of manuscripts, of which *Codex D* is the chief representative, is not a separate tradition, but a branch of the *MV*-family. My own studies had led me to this view when in 1915 I examined the entire text of the *Letters* in the light of the Morgan Fragment. Professor Stout agrees with Carlsson in returning to Keil's estimate of the *MV*-family as superior to the Ten-Book tradition, the family of *BF*, Aldus, and the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 1.



Morgan Fragment. Carlsson's study is a model of thoroughness and is based on an intimate acquaintance with Pliny's habits of speech. Though the new defence of *MV* may ultimately gain general acceptance, it has not, at the moment, quite won me round. I should like, first, to see the subject re-examined with the help of what I have termed this "new approach," namely the vindication of the general reliability of the Aldine text as a witness to *Parisinus*. It may well be that some of the errors of the *BF*-group come not from the ancient tradition, but, as I partly indicated,<sup>1</sup> from their immediate ancestor; *a* should be of assistance in recovering the primal text of this family. But before following this new approach any farther, I prefer to await the outcome of the investigations of Carlsson and Stout. And possibly Mr. Merrill may have something more to say.

Whatever the method of our next editor, he will not, I hope, neglect the verdicts of Catanaeus, as found in his second edition. Though greatly daring in conjecture, and greatly successful, Catanaeus appreciated the value of tradition. Instinctively selecting the readings of the *Codex Mediceus* when they deserved adoption, he substantially based his edition, so far as my observation goes, on the Aldine text. He thus had at his disposal excellent representatives of the two main families of manuscripts. He compared and chose and applied the art of divination, which he had acquired by a natural acuteness and an intimate acquaintance with the *Letters* of Pliny. I wonder, after all is said, whether our modern scholarship can add much to his achievements.

<sup>1</sup> See *Carnegie Publication*, pp. 48 f.





## ITHACA, DULICHIMUM, SAME, AND WOODED ZACYNTHUS

By FRANK BREWSTER

THE question of the identification of these islands, made famous by the genius of Homer, has been the subject of many monographs and articles. The question is interesting not only in itself, but also for its bearing on the broader question of the general reliability of the poems. If Homer has described real places with substantial accuracy, it is surely legitimate to infer similar accuracy on matters not capable of verification.

With few exceptions, so few as to be negligible, scholars are united in thinking that the Ionian islands just west of the Gulf of Corinth are the originals of the Homeric islands; but they differ materially in the extent to which they think the realism has been carried. Some scholars, such as Wilamowitz and Belzner, believe that the poet had some real facts about these islands but that most of his description is imaginary. Others, like Dörpfeld, are of opinion that the poet knew the islands from personal observation and that every item he mentions is capable of verification.

All the ancient scholars, from the classical period down, regarded the island now called Thiaki as the Ithaca of Homer, and Zante as Zacynthus. They were in sad confusion as to the other two islands. Some thought Cephalonia, the largest of the group, was Dulichium, some thought it was Same, and some that it combined both.<sup>1</sup> None of them thought of Leucas as one of the four islands. It remained for Dörpfeld to restore this island to its proper place as one of the four.<sup>2</sup> This conjecture was violently contested at first. Manly,<sup>3</sup> Bérard,

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, X, 2, 14.

<sup>2</sup> See especially 'Das homerische Ithaka,' *Mélanges Perrot*, Paris (1903), pp. 79-93, and *Leukas*, Athens, 1905; cf. also Dörpfeld's review of Michael's *Die Heimat des Odysseus*, in *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* XXII (1905), cols. 1305 ff.; 'Zur Ithaka-Frage,' *ibid.* XXVI (1909), cols. 1185-1190; and 'Das homerische und klassische Nerikos,' *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI (1911), pp. 212-219.

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Manly, 'Ithaca or Leucas?' *University of Missouri Studies*, Columbia, 1903, II, no. 1.

Engel, Michael, Groeschl, and Lang,<sup>1</sup> all maintained that Leucas was not an island but a peninsula in Homer's time, and could not, therefore, have been one of the four islands. The entire evidence on the subject was reviewed by Lang, who relied not only on the statements of the classical writers but on the geologic data reported by Ph. Négris, a Greek engineer. Négris was primarily interested in tracing the evidence of the subsidence of the shores of the Mediterranean since the pre-classical period and determining its approximate commencement.<sup>2</sup> Lang concludes from the data furnished by Négris that what is now a lagoon separating Leucas from Acarnania was an isthmus of solid land in the time of Homer and remained so down to the Roman period. So far as I am aware, Lang is the only writer

<sup>1</sup> Books and articles by these scholars, as well as others to which frequent reference is made, will be referred to as follows:

Belzner. E. Belzner, *Land und Heimat des Odysseus*. Munich, 1915.

Bérard. V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*. Paris, 1902-03.

Cauer<sup>2</sup>, Cauer<sup>3</sup>. P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*. 2d edition, Leipzig, 1909. 3d edition, Leipzig, 1921.

Engel. E. Engel, *Der Wohnsitz des Odysseus*. Leipzig, 1912.

Goessler. P. Goessler, *Leukas-Ithaka, die Heimat des Odysseus*. Stuttgart, 1904.

Groeschl. J. Groeschl, *Dörpfelds Leukas-Ithaka-Hypothese*. Friedek, 1907.

Lang. G. Lang, *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee*. Karlsruhe, 1905.

Leaf. W. Leaf, *Homer and History*. London, 1915.

Marées, *Ithakalegende*. W. von Marées, 'Die Ithakalegende auf Thiaki,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das kl. Altertum*, XVII (1906), pp. 233-245.

Marées, *Karten*. W. von Marées, *Karten von Leukas*. Berlin, 1907.

Michael. H. Michael, *Die Heimat des Odysseus*. Jauer, 1905.

Partsch, *Inselnatur*. J. Partsch, 'Das Alter der Inselnatur von Leukas,' *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, LIII (1907), pp. 269-278.

Partsch, *Ithaka*. J. Partsch, 'Kephallenia und Ithaka,' *ibid.* Ergänzungsheft 98, 1890.

Partsch, *Leukas*. J. Partsch, 'Die Insel Leukas,' *ibid.* Ergänzungsheft 95, 1889.

Rothe. E. Rothe, 'Die Ithaka-Frage,' *Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins*, XXXI (1905), pp. 162 ff.

Shewan. A. Shewan, 'Leukas-Ithaka,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIV (1914), pp. 227-230.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. Négris, 'Observations concernant les variations du niveau de la mer depuis les temps historiques et préhistoriques,' *Comptes Rendus Acad. Sci.* 137 (1903), pp. 222-224. This was followed by two later papers, 'Nouvelles observations sur la dernière transgression de la Méditerranée,' *ibid.* 139 (1904), 379-381, and 'Vestiges antiques submergés,' *Ath. Mitt.* XXIX (1904), pp. 340-363.

who has reached this conclusion. Négris himself was of a different opinion. He thought that the bottom of the lagoon was never above water at this period. Négris states that the mud in the lagoon is all of the same character, contains the same sea-shells, and shows no evidence of terrestrial life.<sup>1</sup> Lang's argument that the soil was too salt to allow plants to grow is, of course, absurd. The farms in Holland, on land reclaimed from the sea, are sufficient proof that the time required for nature to wash out the salt is very short. Partsch<sup>2</sup> has reviewed the whole subject and agrees with Leake<sup>3</sup> that the island in Homer's time was not less of an island than now. Seymour<sup>4</sup> and Leaf<sup>5</sup> both accept Dörpfeld's theory; and though their opinions may not be regarded as so valuable, because they have followed Dörpfeld throughout, the same cannot be said of Shewan, who is absolutely opposed to that theory. Shewan accepts Leucas as one of the four islands,<sup>6</sup> and so does Allen in his recent book on the Homeric Catalogue.<sup>7</sup>

Whether or not Leucas was in fact connected with the mainland by a real isthmus in the Homeric period does not seem material. As Wilamowitz<sup>8</sup> and Shewan<sup>9</sup> both say, it might all the same have been called an island. The name Peloponnesus seems decisive on this point, as both Vollgraf<sup>10</sup> and Rothe<sup>11</sup> point out. Vollgraf adds that the Greek name for peninsula indicates that peninsulas were originally classed as one kind of island.<sup>12</sup> It seems to me, therefore, that we can assume with Cauer<sup>13</sup> that the question whether Leucas was one of the original four islands is no longer really doubtful.

The question whether Leucas was really connected with the mainland by a solid isthmus in the Homeric period is, however, of importance

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXIX (1904), p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Partsch, *Inselnatur*, pp. 269 ff.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835, III, 18.

<sup>4</sup> T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York (1907), p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Leaf, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Shewan, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, Oxford (1921), p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* XXIII (1903), col. 380.

<sup>9</sup> Shewan, p. 228.

<sup>10</sup> W. Vollgraf, 'Dulichion-Leukas,' *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum*, XIX (1907), pp. 617 f.

<sup>11</sup> Rothe, pp. 167 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 617.

<sup>13</sup> Cauer<sup>2</sup>, pp. 207-209.

in the discussion of other questions, and the probabilities, therefore, of this being the case need some further discussion. The classical writers all speak of something here which they call an isthmus;<sup>1</sup> and it is difficult to see how this word could be properly used of anything we now see in existence. Certainly, we should not use this word to designate the spit which now extends from the north end of Leucas over towards Acarnania, but does not reach it in fact. Yet here, if anywhere, is the place where that isthmus must have been.<sup>2</sup> There are certain geologic facts, however, which may explain this situation. The present spit is a rather curious structure. It runs north-northeast for about two kilometres, then turns at almost a right angle and runs east by south for about three kilometres; then turns again at a right angle and runs north by east, roughly parallel with the Acarnanian shore for about three kilometres and disappears in deep water.<sup>3</sup> Partsch and all other writers agree that this spit is formed from detritus broken from the western shores of Leucas and deposited here by the force of the prevailing winds and currents.<sup>4</sup> Now why should the same winds and currents lay down this detritus in this zigzag course? If beyond the present north shore-line of Leucas there was open water, why did not the present easterly branch tail off easterly from the present shore line instead of some two kilometres north of it? Why did the easterly branch stop before reaching Acarnania and tail off northerly? It is, of course, obvious that some diverting force took effect. Is it not probable that both these northerly lines indicate an old shore-line? Marées's charts indicate solid ground at the first angle of the spit, and again along the easterly branch north of Leucas. The stone moles at the south entrance of the lagoon are now submerged to a depth of two metres and a half.<sup>5</sup> This depth is substantially regular throughout their whole length. Négri estimated from them a subsidence of three metres and a half since they were built, 500 B.C. The depth of water in the lagoon north of Leucas, according to Marées's survey, is from a foot to a foot and a

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides III, 81, 94, and IV, 8; Livy XXXIII, 17; Strabo I, 3, 18. For other cases see Lang, pp. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> Partsch, *Inselnatur*, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *Leukas*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *Inselnatur*, p. 275; Marées, *Karten*, pp. 14 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ph. Négri, *Comptes Rendus Acad. Sci.* 137 (1903), p. 222.



half. No one apparently knows the exact depth of the mud here. Marées's observations show that the easterly and westerly shores of the lagoon dip rather sharply toward each other.<sup>1</sup> It would seem impossible, therefore, to make any sure inference as to the depth of this mud from the depth of that where the ship channel was excavated. This part of the lagoon may, therefore, have been solid land in Homer's time, and Leucas may have formerly extended as far north as the present easterly branch of the spit.

Similarly, along the Acarnanian shore the depth of water between the last branch of the spit and the present mainland is very small. This is shown on Marées's chart. All the water here can be easily accounted for by the subsidence known to have taken place.

This inference seems confirmed by the measurements of the isthmus given by the classical writers. Livy says the isthmus was 500 paces long and 120 broad. Partsch says these figures are equivalent to 750 metres and 150 metres. Now take this length and measure from the point where the easterly branch turns north. This brings us to a little west of the old fortress Santa Maura, just about where we inferred was the north end of Leucas. The present spit is not 150 metres wide, but its sides have a gradual slope, and a drop in sea level of ten feet would greatly increase its width. It looks, therefore, as if Livy's figures might be right, if we regard the foregoing theory as to the location of the old shore lines as correct.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marées, *Karten*, p. 8. See sketch in Anhang II.

<sup>2</sup> Livy XXXIII, 17: Acarnania universa inter Aetoliam atque Epirum posita solem occidentem et mare Siculum spectat. Leucadia nunc insula est, vadoso freto, quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa: tum paeninsula erat, occidentis regione artis faucibus cohaerens Acarnaniae; quingentos ferme passus longae eae fauces erant, latae haud amplius centum et viginti. In iis angustiis Leucas posita est, colli applicata verso in orientem et Acarnaniam. Ima urbis plana sunt, iacentia ad mare quo Leucadia ab Acarnania dividitur. Inde terra marique expugnabilis est: nam et vada sunt stagno similiora quam mari.

This seems an excellent and accurate description of the old city. The ruins as described by Partsch (*Leukas*, pp. 7 f.) lie on the side of a hill turned to the east and Acarnania. They stretch down over the plain to the lagoon (*mare*). The canal cut by the Corinthians, if it passed through an isthmus as suggested, would in a sense have made it an island. Exactly what the author meant by *in iis angustiis* is not plain. The city could hardly lie by the sea (*iacentia ad mare*) if it were situated on the canal. Baker's translation renders it, "At the entrance of this

It seems to me, therefore, that so far as our present knowledge goes we ought to consider that the classical writers were right in using the word 'isthmus' to describe the connection between Leucas and the mainland; and that the isthmus was located as Partsch thinks, at the place where the spit now exists. If in the classical period there was a solid connection of land between Leucas and the mainland, it probably existed in the Homeric period. Négris dates the commencement of the period of subsidence around the shores of the Mediterranean prior to this time, and this fact would, if anything, tend to indicate a larger isthmus at that period. If such an isthmus then existed, all navigation between points north and south of Leucas would have had to go outside of Leucas, unless the ships were hauled across the isthmus, as reported by Thucydides. The importance of this matter will appear later.

There is a great divergence among scholars at the present time as to the identification of the several islands. The most important difference relates to Ithaca itself. Dörpfeld and a notable following of scholars believe that Homer's descriptions point to Leucas as the Ithaca of his period. This opinion is certainly not shared by all scholars. Manly, in this country, and Shewan and Allen, in England, are opposed to it, and in Germany a number of papers have been written against it. Neither side, however, seems to have convinced the other, and it seems time to analyze the situation and attempt, if possible, to ascertain the real reason which makes this divergence possible.

Dörpfeld's theory as expounded by himself may be found in an article written by him and published in the *Mélanges Perrot*, and later republished, together with his reply to Wilamowitz's criticism, in a monograph entitled *Leukas*, published in Athens in 1905.<sup>1</sup> These publications indicate very clearly that Dörpfeld rested his theory narrow neck stands Leucas." This does not seem to be true. Perhaps Livy was himself confused, as is not remarkable. All the rest of the statement fits the facts very perfectly.

In a review of Partsch's *Inselnatur* (*Woch. f. klass. Philol.* XXV (1908), cols. 1081 ff.), Goessler suggests that Livy referred in this passage to Leucas as being on the canal, in the same sense that Kiel is referred to as on the Kiel Canal, that is, characterized by its vicinity, though not exactly on it.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 43, note 2.

mainly on the lines in *Od.* IX, 21-26.<sup>1</sup> These he interprets as a statement by the poet that, of the four islands, Ithaca lay farthest *πρὸς ζόφον*. There has been much discussion as to which point of the compass was meant by *ζόφος*, but, however one interprets this word, the statement does not seem true of Thiaki. Cephalonia is certainly west of Thiaki in fact, and Leucas north of it. The *ζόφος* must have been in one or other of these directions, and in neither case, therefore, does the description fit Thiaki. Dr. Leaf's view on this matter seems sound.<sup>2</sup> *ζόφος* is in the quarter between west and north and, as interpreted by Dörpfeld, the passage points directly to Leucas. Swan's argument<sup>3</sup> that Ithaca is Ithaca until the contrary is proved, does not fully answer this contention. The poet's own statements are the best evidence of what he meant. If he has labeled his Ithaca as the most northwesterly of the four islands, then he may have been wrong, but it certainly cannot be said that there is no evidence on this point.

The real answer to Dörpfeld's theory is, not that there is no evidence in its favor, but that his interpretation of this passage is not the right one. In *Od.* IV, 607 Homer gives a vivid description of the physical characteristics of Ithaca; and he concludes his description with these pregnant words:

οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος οὐδ' εὐλείμων,  
αἶθ' ὅ' ἀλλὶ κεκλίεται· Ἰθάκη δέ τε καὶ περὶ πασέων.

Butcher and Lang translate these lines, "for of the isles that lie and lean upon the sea, none are fit for the driving of horses, or rich in meadow land, and least of all is Ithaca." Palmer's translation<sup>4</sup> and that of Murray<sup>5</sup> are almost identical. I take it, therefore, that there can be no doubt that the poet has described his Ithaca as least adapted to driving horses and least provided with rich or good

<sup>1</sup> In his review of Michael's *Die Heimat des Odysseus* in *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* XXII (1905), cols. 1305 ff., Dörpfeld says he will dwell only on the most important points; and the first he discusses is the passage mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Leaf, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> 'Beati Possidentes Ithakistae,' *Class. Philol.* XII (1917), p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *The Odyssey of Homer*, translated by George Herbert Palmer, revised edition, Boston, 1921.

<sup>5</sup> The Loeb Ed., I, 151.

meadows.<sup>1</sup> The statement is a direct comparison between Ithaca and the other islands; and, according to Cauer, is the best kind of evidence for identification.<sup>2</sup> Not that Cauer says so of this passage. As a matter of fact, he merely notes that it fits Thiaki as well as Leucas.<sup>3</sup> He does not comment on the comparison; but he does say that statements comparing Ithaca to the other islands are the most valuable, and this seems to me just such a statement. The real question, of course, is, does this comparison point clearly to Leucas or Thiaki? It seems to me it clearly points to Thiaki. Leucas has at least three good-sized plains, one at the north end of the island, another at Nidri, and a third at Vasiliki. Thiaki has none, or virtually none. It is true that plains are no better adapted for driving horses than hillsides, if the plains are covered by forest; but on this point Dörpfeld has furnished valuable evidence. He has discovered in the plain of Nidri an extensive prehistoric settlement, said to cover a length of two kilometres. Vollgraf discovered no such settlement on Thiaki.<sup>4</sup> This would make it necessary to assume that at least the plain of Nidri had been cleared of forest. Population means food-supply, and an urban population, agriculture. One cannot grow crops in a forest, and the size of Dörpfeld's settlement would seem to require that the whole or a large part of the plain of Nidri had been cleared for agriculture. Marées enlarges on the fertility of this plain in prehistoric time.<sup>5</sup> It seems to follow, therefore, that even in Homer's time this particular description was apposite only to Thiaki, and surely it fits it perfectly. None of Dörpfeld's supporters refer to this passage except Goessler,<sup>6</sup> and he merely says that the general statement fits Leucas. Of course it does; the poet himself says so. But Goessler does not explain the comparison of Ithaca to the other islands in this respect. Dörpfeld<sup>7</sup> attempts an explanation. He says *ἰππήλατος* means that there were no good roads, and that the name of

<sup>1</sup> Palmer translates *εὐλείμων* by "good meadows"; Murray by "rich in meadows." In the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*, 529, *εὐλείμων* occurs in a context which seems to imply that it was used in a sense of land fitted for agricultural use.

<sup>2</sup> Cauer<sup>2</sup>, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Cauer<sup>3</sup>, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> 'Fouilles d'Ithaque,' *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XXIX (1905), pp. 145-168.

<sup>5</sup> Marées, *Karten*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Goessler, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* XXVI (1909), col. 1186. As a matter of fact, Dörpfeld misquotes Partsch as to this.



the chief city of Leucas, Hamaxichi, shows that Leucas had none. This statement is misleading, as, of course, such evidence is comparatively modern and does not disclose conditions in the Homeric period. If this passage points straight to Thiaki, it is certainly not fair to the poet to assume that he used a description for his Ithaca which points directly to a different island, unless no other explanation is possible. Surely, in testing the poet's accuracy, we have no right to admit an interpretation of either passage which results in a contradiction, if there is any other reasonable interpretation of either which obviates such disagreement. Now such an interpretation of the passage in *Od.* IX, 21-26 is not only possible, but, I submit, is distinctly more probable than the interpretation advocated by Dörpfeld.

Dörpfeld's theory is obviously based on two assumptions: (1) that the poet is describing the island from personal knowledge; (2) that it is a geographic description.<sup>1</sup> Unless the poet knew of his own knowledge that Ithaca in his day was the most northwesterly of the four islands, his statement to that effect might arise from a misinterpretation of his sources. If the statement was merely a description of how the island looked from a particular point, it might be true as to appearances and yet not be true as to the geographic position of the islands. This last point was discussed by me in an article on Ithaca,<sup>2</sup> and what was said then does not need repetition, but further study has convinced me that there is more that can be presented in favor of the suggestion than was there stated.

The general interpretation of this passage presented in my former article was based on Bérard's theory that Homer used some prehistoric document, account, or poem, describing the ports and harbors of the prehistoric period, as the material for his descriptions of the voyages of Telemachus and Odysseus. Now there is pretty conclusive evidence that just such a source of material was, in fact, known to the poet. In *Od.* XII, 70, he refers casually to the good ship Argo in such a way as bespeaks familiarity with her story on the part of both himself and his audience. Meuli<sup>3</sup> has published a long

<sup>1</sup> Dörpfeld himself calls this a geographic description, *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* XXII (1905), col. 1308. So does Leaf, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXI (1920), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>3</sup> K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika*, Berlin, 1921.



monograph in which he concludes that much of the *Odyssey* was drawn directly from an *Argonautica*. I judge he believes it to have been the same, or substantially the same, as the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. Thomson<sup>1</sup> seems to put the point more accurately when he says that both the *Odyssey* and the extant *Argonautica* were drawn from the same ancient source. It is, moreover, worthy of mention that the extant *Argonautica* contains a tradition of just such a coast-pilot as Bérard imagined.<sup>2</sup> Autran<sup>3</sup> has pointed out that the Egyptian of Greek tradition is the same as the Aegean, and that the Egyptian king may well have been a Cretan ruler in whose domain the inscribed tablets, referred to in the poem, have been found in such numbers. Whether the Black Sea adventures of the extant *Argonautica* were a later addition reflecting later Greek commerce may not be determinable, but certainly the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* have many things in common.

In addition to this, there is the description in the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo* of the voyage of the Cretan merchants around Greece to found the Delphic oracle. Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> discredits this *Hymn* as evidence, but Cauer<sup>5</sup> does not agree with him. The description obviously could not have been taken from Homer, as the greater part of the voyage is not found in the *Odyssey*. Moreover, it does not agree with Homer. It is now generally admitted that the Pylos of Homer was south of the Alpheus, but the *Hymn* apparently puts it north of the Alpheus.<sup>6</sup> Sandy Pylos of the *Hymn* is mentioned after the ford of the Alpheus and must, therefore, have been thought of as north of it. On the other hand, the fact that the founders of the Delphic Oracle are described as Cretans seems to indicate that the poet was following an ancient tradition. Surely in 700 B.C., the approximate date of the poem,<sup>7</sup> the Cretans were no longer so famous as to have such a distinction accorded them. It is also very interesting to note that where this voyage coincides with that of Telemachus, the actual language used is almost identical with Homer's, word for word, and yet with such differences as would seem to indicate that

<sup>1</sup> J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey*, Oxford (1914), pp. 80 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, IV, 279-281.

<sup>3</sup> C. Autran, *Les Phéniciens*, Paris (1920), pp. 17, 23 f., 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.* XXIII (1903), col. 382.

<sup>5</sup> Cauer<sup>3</sup>, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> See lines 421 f.

<sup>7</sup> Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*

the later poet was using some common original, rather than merely copying Homer. Cauer's argument, that because the *Hymn* mentions Ithaca first, this points to Leucas as Ithaca seems a mere assumption. Why should the poet first mention the north end of the row, and not the south end? The true explanation would seem to be that Ithaca, as the most famous place, was mentioned first.

The foregoing evidence seems to be quite conclusive that some sea poem was in existence in the time of Homer; and a comparison of the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* seems equally conclusive that some, at least, of the places referred to by Homer were mentioned in that ancient poem. Both poems refer to Circe and Phaeacia. Both mention the Wandering Rocks and Scylla. Both refer to king Aeetes. It is not necessary to compare the poems throughout. All that is necessary is to afford a foundation for Bérard's theory. If such existed, its real proof is to be found in the light it throws on the *Odyssey* itself.

If now we turn back to the passage in question, it seems to me that the theory that this description was drawn from such a poem fits the passage better than Dörpfeld's interpretation. That Homer knew the islands from personal observation and then deliberately gave such a bungling description of them as the one contained in this passage seems almost incredible. Take lines 23 and 24 of Book IX, "and many islands lie around very near one to the other, Dulichium and Same and wooded Zacynthus."<sup>1</sup> This statement certainly does not fit the geographic facts. There is no such group of which Cephalonia, Thiaki, and Zacynthus form a part. The only real group of islands close together is some twenty miles distant from Thiaki, off the shore of Acarnania. Goessler saw this and regarded Dulichium, Same, and Zacynthus as a separate group, not part of the many islands.<sup>2</sup> This theory might be possible, but then to which group did the poet refer by the *αἱ δέ* of line 26? Robert<sup>3</sup> and Gercke<sup>4</sup> would eliminate lines 24 and 25 altogether on account of the difficul-

<sup>1</sup> Butcher and Lang's translation. Palmer's and Murray's translations are essentially the same.

<sup>2</sup> Goessler, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> C. Robert, 'Ithaca,' *Hermes*, XLIV (1909), p. 632.

<sup>4</sup> A. Gercke, 'Die Lage von Ithaka,' *Berl. phil. Woch.* XXX (1910), cols. 189 ff.

ties they present. Michael<sup>1</sup> would go even further. Whether we agree with these scholars or not, their views are valuable as indicating the difficulties in this passage as it has been ordinarily interpreted. The suggestion made in my article on Ithaca<sup>2</sup> is not nearly so violent. It was not that line 24 is an interpolation, but that Homer, in utilizing some pre-Homeric description, had taken this line out of its position in the original and had inserted it here for his own purposes. If this line be omitted, the rest of the passage makes perfectly good sense; in fact, better sense, as it then gives an accurate picture of the locality, as I shall presently show. In the *Hymn to Apollo* we find the same line, but in a different context. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the inference that Homer, in selecting from the original such portions as suited his purpose, took this line and the rest of his description and put them together. This could be done, as line 24 is complete in itself, and the reference to the other islands in lines 22 and 23 affords an opportunity for its insertion here. The difficulties created by this change of location would not, I think, be apparent to persons not familiar with the locality. If Homer composed his poem in Asia Minor for an audience there, it is not probable that these difficulties would have been noticed.

Another suggestion made in my earlier article was that *παννπερ-τάτη εἶν ἀλὶ* was not intended to be taken with *πρὸς ῥόφον*, but was merely a paraphrase for our word "horizon."<sup>3</sup> This seems confirmed by the corresponding passage in the *Hymn*. Lines 428 and 429 read as follows: *καὶ σφιν ὑπέκ νεφέων Ἰθάκης τ' ὄρος αἰπὺ πέφαντο Δουλιχίων τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος*. According to Liddell and Scott, *ὑπέκ* means "out from beneath," and there is just one place where a mountain peak will stand sharply "out from beneath the clouds" and that is when it is seen on the horizon where sea and sky meet. It certainly looks as if the original from which both poets drew had in some way referred to Ithaca as being seen on the horizon, an idea which had been repeated by each poet in his own way.

If now we take this passage, and, omitting line 24 and rendering

<sup>1</sup> Michael, pp. 23 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXI (1920), pp. 125-166.

<sup>3</sup> See Gruhn's discussion in his article 'Ithaka,' *Neue philol. Rundschau* (1906), p. 563. Also his 'Ithaka und Leukas,' *ibid.* (1907), p. 223.

πανυπερτάτη εἶν ἀλί by our word "horizon," translate the rest as the lines are commonly rendered, it reads as follows:

And I dwell in clear-seen Ithaca, wherein is a mountain Neritos, with trembling forest leaves, standing manifest to view, and many islands lie around, very near one to the other, but Ithaca lies low on the horizon to the west, those others far away to the east.

This is apparently a very good description of Thiaki as seen from a ship off Cape Trepito, the most westerly cape of the Peloponnesus.

The words *χθαμαλή* . . . *κείται* in this passage have been another fruitful source of disagreement. The ordinary meaning of *χθαμαλός* is "low"; but none of the islands is low in fact. Dörpfeld interprets the word as meaning "near the land," and, it must be admitted, makes a very good case. The trouble, however, is that this explanation does not fit the other passage, *Od.* X, 196, where the same expression is used.<sup>1</sup> Dörpfeld's arguments have been answered by various writers.<sup>2</sup> Leaf himself admits that *χθαμαλή*, in *Od.* X, 196, means 'low'.<sup>3</sup>

How differently both passages appear when viewed in the light of Bérard's theory! To seamen approaching the coast, high land seen from a distance invariably looks low, and the expression "lies low" seems to be a very apposite characterization.

We do not know where Circe's island was situated, but assume that Bérard is right in believing it was Mt. Circeo on the Italian coast. To sailors approaching from the south, this peak when first seen would look low and it would appear to be surrounded by the boundless deep. The peak is some ten to twelve miles from the Alban Hills,<sup>4</sup> and the land between is too low to be seen from a distance. Moreover, it is just the kind of description we should expect. To sailors cruising along the shore and sailing by landmarks, directions enabling them to recognize their port from a distance would be invaluable. The old sea poem may well have contained such informa-

<sup>1</sup> Rothe, pp. 169 f.; Cauér<sup>3</sup>, pp. 211 f.

<sup>2</sup> Groeschl, p. 20; Engel, pp. 16 f.; Michael, p. 23; Belzner, pp. 11 ff.; Rothe, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Leaf, p. 150, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Bérard, II, p. 280.



tion. Weill,<sup>1</sup> in his article on the pre-Hellenic ports of Alexandria, quotes this passage from Renan:

“L'idée que ces peuples anciens se faisaient d'un port était tout à fait différente de la nôtre. Les ports phéniciens étaient de préférence situés sur des caps; il semble qu'on cherchait plutôt des reconnaissances, susceptible d'être vues de loin, que de vrai abris. . . . Ce que les Phéniciens recherchaient dans leurs ports, était le voisinage d'un île, ainsi qu'on le voit à Aradus, à Tripoli, à Sidon, à Tyre.”

If by 'Phoenicians' we understand Aegeans, or Cretans, as probably now we should, the passage confirms the foregoing suggestion. If the ancient seamen chose for their ports places visible from a distance, it would seem very natural to expect to find in descriptions of those ports a description of their appearance from the distance.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is perfectly reasonable to interpret both these passages as taken from a description of a distant view of both places. Possibly it was all the description of either place that the poet found in the old sea poem.

Next, note how appropriately the selection was made. Bérard identified Phaeacia with a port on the island of Corfu.<sup>2</sup> Lately Shewan<sup>3</sup> has supported this identification by an entirely different line of reasoning. Shewan's theory that the Phaeacians were a colony or trading-post of Minoans, — probably Aegean or Cretan merchants, — seems so reasonable that I will assume he is right. Odysseus is about to tell them his adventures. He first declares his name and home. What more natural than to take its description from their own coast-pilot? If the story of the Argo preceded Homer, it probably originated among the Cretans.<sup>4</sup> The ancient civilization

<sup>1</sup> R. Weill, 'Les ports antehelléniques de la côte d'Alexandrie et l'Empire crétois,' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XVI (1919), pp. 1-37, especially pp. 17 f.

<sup>2</sup> Bérard, I, 481 f.

<sup>3</sup> A. Shewan, 'Scheria-Corcyra,' *Classical Philology*, XIII (1918), pp. 321-334, and XIV (1919), pp. 97-107.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Köster, *Das Antike Seewesen*, Berlin (1923), p. 80: "Homer kennt alle Gegenden des Mittelmeeres, selbst den Westen. Bis dahin kamen damals wohl nur die Phöniker, die den Griechen jedoch nur Lügengeschichten über die fernen Länder berichteten. Aber es lag offenbar eine ältere Überlieferung vor, hatten doch die Kreter einen lebhaften und ausgedehnten Handel bis in jene Gegenden getrieben."



of Boeotia appears to have been derived from Crete,<sup>1</sup> and it is interesting to note that the farthest limit of navigation mentioned by Alcinoüs is close by the northerly limit, in Greece, to which archaeology has traced the Mycenaean culture. Moreover, the magic power of the Phaeacian vessels to find any port is best explained as a poetic expression of the fact that their seamen had something which served them as a coast-pilot and enabled their sea-captains to find their way about the Mediterranean. Quite possibly the poet did not himself understand it, and hence the miraculous imputation.

That the passage in *Od.* IX, 21-26 refers to a distant view of the island was long ago suggested by Partsch;<sup>2</sup> but he seemed to think of it as a picture drawn by an observer from land. I need not repeat here my reasons for thinking the description a sea-picture, and not a land-picture; but it seems very obvious that the difficulty of making out the island from the place (Pyrgos) which Partsch took as his point of view, would not apply to a view from a boat off Cape Trepito. If we take the large chart of the Ionian islands, and draw a line just touching the extreme points of the easterly shore of Cephalonia, south of the site of old Samos, it will be found that the prolongation of this line southerly falls quite clear of Cape Trepito. It is true that the northerly end of Cephalonia falls easterly of this line; but none of the heights shown on Partsch's map of the island which lie within this area are sufficient to rise above the horizon when viewed from the deck of a small boat off Cape Trepito. This would, therefore, leave a clear line of horizon between Thiaki and the island of Cephalonia. The actual distance between Cephalonia and the southern end of Thiaki is about two miles and, as this distance is not diminished in appearance by the curvature of the earth, the peak of Thiaki (it would appear like one peak from here) would look about one-tenth as high as the distance between the island and Cephalonia. This would make the island plainly visible, and prevent its obscuration by the greater bulk of Cephalonia, which appears to make the island difficult of vision from the shores of Elis.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, Oxford (1919), pp. 55 f.

<sup>2</sup> Partsch, *Ithaka*, p. 57. Partsch's view has also been approved by the following: Engel, pp. 15 and 17; Michael, p. 23; Rothe, p. 169; Groeschl, p. 20; A. Gruhn, 'Ithaka,' *Neue philol. Rundschau* (1906), p. 563.

The suggestion that, to a seaman sailing north from Pylos, the island Cephalonia would look like part of the foreground is not capable of determination merely from a study of the chart; but even if this island appeared in fact on the horizon, the poet's statement seems true. As rendered above, there is no assertion that Ithaca lies farthest to the west. The statement is merely that "Ithaca lies low on the horizon towards the west." This statement seems absolutely true.<sup>1</sup> To the seaman the island from this point would appear to be on the horizon and towards his left side, or to the west. The group of many islands close together would equally appear to be far away towards his right hand or the east.

Moreover, the character of the detail mentioned in this passage fits a maritime origin better than a personal recollection. Goessler has given us a picture of Thiaki as viewed by a passenger on board ship. He dwells on its peculiar profile and its relation to Cephalonia,<sup>2</sup> not on its relative position to the Echinades. Partsch does very much the same from his distant point of view in Pyrgos. Could we have better examples of how the distant view strikes the mind of the observer from the land? But to a seaman feeling his way from point to point, the landmarks are everything. To him the Echinades were an important landmark. In any poem or description of the trade route north from Pylos we should expect them to be mentioned; and their description would be just what the poet gives us in this passage. When Thiaki is clearly seen, they are far away in the east.

The reasons given in my earlier article for believing that the trade-route ran by the Echinades seem to me confirmed by the course of the Argo after sailing from Corfu. In Book IV, ll. 1228 f. we read <sup>3</sup> —

"Now had they left behind the gulf named after the Ambracians, now with sails wide spread the land of the Curetes, and next in order the narrow islands with the Echinades."

Now why should the poet bring the Argo off the Echinades unless this was the customary route in his time, or unless the old tradition

<sup>1</sup> "Low on the horizon" would necessarily distinguish it from the much higher mass of Cephalonia; and "to the west" from all other peaks seen there.

<sup>2</sup> Goessler, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (Loeb Library Translation by R. C. Seaton), New York, 1912.

he was following so reported? In either case it seems good proof of the trade-route in Homer's time. Winds and currents do not change in the course of a few centuries. If the sailors of the third century B.C. found the route by the Echinades best, there is little doubt that the sailors of Homer's time did the same. If this was the old tradition, it goes back prior to Homer.

The story of Telemachus's return confirms this interpretation. First, we have Athena's advice as to what he should do. In *Od.* XV, 33, the goddess tells him to keep his good ship far from the islands. What islands? She has just mentioned Same and Ithaca, and whether she refers to these two only or the four large islands, Ithaca is included in the warning. A moment later, in line 36, the goddess advises him to land on the nearest point of Ithaca, and it is, of course, obvious that he could not follow both suggestions. You cannot keep away from an island and at the same time land on its nearest point. It is a physical impossibility. Moreover, the first advice, so far as Ithaca was concerned, was valueless. The suitors were on Asteris. Asteris was either Daskalio or Arkudi. The suitors could not, in fact, have seen him from either island on his approach to the south end of Thiaki. Obviously not from Arkudi, if he sailed straight for the south end of Ithaca; nor, in fact, from Daskalio. Daskalio is about ten miles north of the south end of Ithaca, and the combined height of the observer above sea level, plus the height of the boat, would have to exceed sixty-five feet to make the boat visible. The actual height of Daskalio is about seventeen feet.<sup>1</sup> Adding six feet for the man makes twenty-three feet, and assuming that Bérard's estimate of about twenty-five feet for the mast is correct,<sup>2</sup> you are still some feet below the limit. Add the further fact that you simply cannot tell one boat from another at even less than a mile, unless there is a marked peculiarity of rig or shape, and Homer's story seems absurd, if we regard it as drawn from personal knowledge of the island.

Similar difficulties are met if Leucas was the Homeric Ithaca. The obvious course for Telemachus in that case would be to keep to eastward of Meganisi and sail straight for his home on Vlichos Bay, where

<sup>1</sup> Von Marées gives the height as 5.3 m. See his *Ithakalegende*, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Bérard, I, 165.

Dörpfeld places it. Why should a man in his senses sail from the Echinades to the southerly end of Leucas, a route which would apparently take him right by the island of the ambush, in this case Arkudi, when he could best avoid the suitors by sailing directly for the city harbor? If Homer knew the islands from personal observation and drew these incidents from his own knowledge, it seems to indicate a great disregard of all the realities.

The advice of the goddess in line 34, to sail by night as well as by day, apparently leads to similar conclusions. If his destination was Thiaki, why sail by night, when the breeze was ordinarily unfavorable,<sup>1</sup> especially when there was no need of the darkness to cover his movements? This would not be true if his destination was the south end of Leucas, as on the part of the trip from Oxia northwesterly the night breeze would be favorable; but then why make him take an unnecessary and somewhat perilous trip by night which led near the ambush, when he could avoid all danger by sailing in the daytime directly for his home port? Finally, why should Telemachus steer for Oxia, if his destination was Thiaki? The prevailing winds were against him. He was off the shores of Elis, and it was pitch-dark. This was the time of the land breeze, which blows from about northeast. The mark was fully twenty miles to the eastward of Thiaka. Why should any sane man make such an unnecessary détour?

On the other hand, how natural the whole story seems if we assume that Homer was using for his story the descriptions contained in some account of the trade-route north from Pylos! This route would properly skirt the shores of Greece till off Cape Trepito, then, avoiding the large islands, would head for Oxia so as to obtain the most favorable chance with the night winds in the route between Ithaca and Leucas. All this has been more fully set forth in my former articles.<sup>2</sup> Virtually all the details given of this voyage could have been taken from this trade-route. The goddess's advice to keep far from the islands and sail by night as well as by day fits perfectly. Telemachus's voyage, so far as related, fits in also. He coasts along the shore. He passes the same places that are mentioned in the *Hymn to Apollo* after leaving Pylos. Somewhere off the shores of

<sup>1</sup> See *Harvard Studies*, XXXI, 136 f. Bérard, I, 66 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Studies*, XXXI, 136, and XXXIII, 67 f.



Elis he heads for Ochia, and there the poet leaves him. We meet him next morning at Ithaca, near the swineherd's hut, but how he got there, when he changed his course, Homer does not tell us. The poet makes Telemachus follow the trade-route as long as he can. When that no longer trends in the right direction, the poet leaves the rest to the imagination of his hearers. The only item in the whole story, so far as the sea part is concerned, is the goddess's advice to land on the nearest point of Ithaca and seek the swineherd. This was apparently necessary for Homer's story, and was probably his own invention. It certainly does not seem like any direction for the guidance of seamen, or otherwise we should have had some clue to the point and time when the course was to be changed. On the theory that Homer drew on some pre-existing account of the customary course of navigation north from Pylos, his narrative agrees with the facts and with the probabilities. On the theory that it was founded on his personal knowledge, the facts do not agree with the narrative. Is it not, therefore, probable that the former theory is the right explanation?

Another serious difficulty with Dörpfeld's theory is the change in place names which it involves. While it may not be possible to prove that such a change could not have occurred, it is certainly improbable. Leucas is the only one of the four islands on which no recollection of the Homeric names remained. No one questions that Zante is the Homeric Zacynthus. Thiaki has been known only as Ithaca as far back as Greek tradition goes. The two remaining names were preserved as place names on Cephalonia and are still preserved there.<sup>1</sup> Surely, if Thiaki ever bore the name of Same, some recollection of the name would have been preserved on the island. Surely, if Leucas had ever been known by the much more famous name Ithaca, all recollection of this name would not have faded completely. This is Cauer's only criticism of Dörpfeld's theory.<sup>2</sup> That it is serious is shown by his opinion that the true solution has not yet been reached. This is important, coming, as it does, from one who characterizes the theory as the best explanation yet offered of the Homeric evidence.

If, however, we adopt the interpretation of IX, 21-26, that it is not a

<sup>1</sup> See Goessler, p. 18; Engel, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cauer<sup>3</sup>, p. 217 f. and p. 220; cf. also Rothe, pp. 171 f.



geographic description, but a picture of Ithaca as viewed by seamen approaching from the south, these difficulties disappear. The famous name has remained planted. The one island most easily invaded from the land has lost its name. That is a fact, and not remarkable, if the name was only Same. We find the name again on Cephalonia, obviously the most natural refuge of the dispossessed inhabitants of Leucas. The presence of both Homeric names on that island may well have led to the use of the old race name of the islanders for the island.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, this island seems to have been a refuge for other dispossessed peoples. The place name Taphos is still preserved on it and one Greek tradition described the capture of Cephalonia from the Taphians.<sup>2</sup> This certainly looks as if Taphians were once on the island, and Leaf suggests that some of them sought refuge there in the troublous times of the Doric invasion.<sup>3</sup> But, however this may be, the complete loss in Greek tradition of any recollection of any Homeric name on Leucas and the presence of both missing names on Cephalonia render very reasonable the theory that one of them was brought over from Leucas.

Dörpfeld, it is true, did not rest his entire argument on the passage in *Od.* IX, 21-26. He instances several other passages in Homer which, he maintains, support his position. These passages are as follows:

First, the ferry argument based on *Od.* XX, 187.

Second, the argument based on the question to strangers, *Od.* I, 170 f.; XIV, 187 f.; XVI, 57 and 222.

Third, the reference to the other islands as *πρὸς Ἡλίδος*, *Od.* XXI, 347.

Fourth, the order of names in the *Hymn to Apollo*.

Fifth, the story of the escape of Odysseus from the ship of the Thesprotians.

Sixth, the identification of Asteris with Arkudi.

The weight of this evidence seems to me very slight. No reliance can be placed on the common translation of *πορθμῆες* in XX, 187 as "ferry-men." Homer expressly defines the word in terms which equate

<sup>1</sup> This is what Partsch thought; see his *Ithaka*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus 2, 4, 6; A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 112. Leaf, p. 191.

it to our expression "common carrier."<sup>1</sup> He defines the vocation of the Phaeacians in exactly the same words used in XX, 187.<sup>2</sup> Surely they were not ferrymen in our sense of the term. So far as the text is concerned, the trip may have been long or short. It is, of course, obvious that it would be easier to transport cattle from Acarnania to Leucas than from Elis to Thiaki; but there are so many other factors that may affect the question that this fact alone seems of negligible value. For example, Acarnania is not mentioned in Homer<sup>3</sup> and it is not clear, therefore, that it was subject to Achaean dominion. If in hostile hands, Odysseus would not be likely to run his herds there. The Ithacans, when preparing to avenge the killing of the suitors, fear that Odysseus might flee to Pylos, or Elis.<sup>4</sup> Why not to Acarnania, if Ithaca was Leucas? The distance would have been much shorter. There is no evidence that Acarnania was used for pasturage in Homer's time. Elis was, as the story of Noemon shows.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence that there was any transportation system between Acarnania and Leucas. There was from Elis, for Odysseus tells a story of engaging transport on a Phoenician ship to Pylos or Elis,<sup>6</sup> obviously with the idea that he could find transport from either to Ithaca. So far as we have any evidence on the subject, Elis, which has always been famous for its pasturage, seems to be the most probable site of Odysseus's grazing grounds, and though the weight of this evidence may not be sufficient to permit one to dogmatize on the subject, surely it is more than enough to counterbalance any argument for Leucas from its mere proximity to Acarnania.

Dörpfeld's second piece of confirmatory evidence is the question asked of strangers on their arrival in Ithaca, first by Telemachus of Mentès,<sup>7</sup> and again by Eumaeus of the Beggar,<sup>8</sup> by Telemachus of Eumaeus referring to Odysseus,<sup>9</sup> and finally by Telemachus of Odysseus.<sup>10</sup> The formula is varied slightly, but each concludes with this line:

οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πῆξόν ὀίομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Studies*, XXXIII, 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* XVI, 227 and 228. I am indebted to Mr. Shewan for this reference.

<sup>3</sup> T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, Oxford, 1921, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* XXIV, 430 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Od.* I, 171 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* IV, 632 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* XIV, 188 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Od.* XIII, 274 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Od.* XVI, 57 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 222 ff.

While the question itself is a very natural one, no one today would think of adding this line except by way of joke. Dörpfeld argues that a son would hardly crack a joke on his father at a time of so much real feeling as at the last instance. He says, therefore, that Ithaca must have had a possibility of access on foot, and this could hardly be the case unless Leucas were Ithaca. The force of this argument depends on two assumptions, neither of which has been proved. First, can we assume that, because we should not give our reason for the question, the people of Homer's time would not? We should only refrain because, when asked on an island, the reason is too obvious for mentioning, not because it was not a sufficient excuse; but can we argue from that that Telemachus would not add it? Their customs were not ours in all particulars and it may be that politeness required it.

Nor is Dörpfeld's second assumption any sounder. It is perfectly well known that at times of great emotion people will often make most commonplace remarks. The stress of feeling checks the intellect, and an effort to say something to break the strain will generally result in some ordinary or customary remark. This seems to be just the situation here. Both were weeping and would never have stopped,<sup>1</sup> if Telemachus had not asked this question; and to put it in the customary way would be the natural mental reaction. The whole probative effect of the incident depends upon the fact that Dörpfeld's explanation is the only possible one within reasonable limits, and too many good scholars regard it differently to make this tenable.

This particular argument seems to me a good illustration of the difficulty of reaching a common conclusion, unless individual thinkers will try to evaluate the evidence not in accordance with their own impressions, but in accordance with general rules. The same facts will undoubtedly impress different minds differently. Some scholars see in this customary question only a species of early witticism. Other scholars think this impossible, at least in the last instance. Probably neither side could persuade the other that its view is correct, but each should recognize that the character and standing of the other are such that their opinions are entitled to respect and may

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* XVI, 220.

be right. The incident then becomes one of which the interpretation is doubtful and does not deserve to weigh as an argument for either side. Circumstantial evidence ought to be clearly proved before it is given any material weight.

The third argument is based on Telemachus's reference, in *Od.* XXI, 347, to the other islands as being *πρὸς Ἠλίδος*. Dörpfeld interprets this as a statement that the other islands lie nearer Elis than Ithaca, and argues that this is only true if Leucas is Ithaca. This seems a very logical inference, and I have never seen any satisfactory answer to it.<sup>1</sup> Its weight, however, depends entirely on the assumption that Homer was describing the islands from personal knowledge. If he was not, and drew his ideas solely from some prior poem, or tradition, which described the sea routes and the islands, it is very easy to see how he may have drawn an incorrect inference as to their relative positions from perfectly accurate information. If the only information the poet had of the position of Ithaca is that which he has given us in IX, 21-26, surely it would be only natural for him to think of Ithaca as the island most distant from Elis.

The fourth argument, from the *Hymn to Apollo*, may be dismissed with but few words. The picture is that seen from the deck of a ship sailing northward along the coast of Greece and bound for the Gulf of Corinth. Its course would never be less than some twenty to twenty-five miles from Thiaki, and still farther from Leucas. Both islands would look like two small blots on the horizon about equally high.<sup>2</sup> Leucas would look east of Thiaki. Both would stand out from beneath the clouds and the description might fit either. It has no value, therefore, as evidence between them.

Dörpfeld's reliance on the story of the Thesprotian voyage seems to depend on the following line of reasoning. Thesprotia was to the north. Leucas is the only island north of Cephalaria — his Dulichium. Therefore, the stop for supper must have been on Leucas.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shewan's explanation in *Class. Philol.* XIX (1924), pp. 51 f. is best; but it depends on two premises: (1) that Dulichium is Leucas; (2) that *νήσοισι* referred only to Same and Zacynthus. Neither of these is certain.

<sup>2</sup> This fact can be substantiated by anyone by measuring the relative distances on a chart and then figuring the heights of the mountains on the two islands above the horizon from the place adopted as the standpoint of the observer.



This, however, overlooks the exigencies of navigation. The course was probably round Cape Dukato. The White Rock must have been a very familiar landmark to justify the very brief reference to it in *Od.* XXIV, 11, and this could hardly have occurred if there had been reasonably safe navigation between Leucas and Acarnania. As we have seen, there was probably no passing through there in the Homeric period. After rounding Cape Dukato the direct route to any probable port on Cephalonia was past Thiaki, not the ports on Leucas; there were no good ports on the north or west sides of Leucas, nor would any port in those parts suit the story. On the other hand, the route to Samos on Cephalonia did run by suitable ports on Thiaki. If Homer did not know the islands from personal observation, he would not appreciate how near its destination the ship was when the crew landed for supper. So far as this story goes, it seems to fit Thiaki better than Leucas.

The Arkudi-Asteris equation merely proves that Leucas and Thiaki were Same and Ithaca, not which is which. Undoubtedly Asteris must have been located on the customary route from Pylos to Ithaca, the city. Even if we assume that the customary route from the south to Vlichos Bay, on the east coast of Leucas, where Dörpfeld located his Ithaca, ran by Arkudi, this proves nothing unless we can also show that the route to Ithaca on the Bay of Polis did not run by Arkudi also. I have given my reasons in my previous articles for thinking that the only route Homer knew did so run, and need not repeat that reasoning here. In any event, the fact that this last-named route *may* have passed it deprives the argument of any real weight. It is obviously unnecessary to place Asteris where Telemachus would have to pass it to land on the south end of the island, as the suitors did not know this and would expect him by the ordinary route.

None of the scholars to whom I have referred who have adopted Dörpfeld's theory have advanced any evidence on the subject except what Dörpfeld produced. And the fact that Seymour, Leaf, and Cauer, who all adopt Dörpfeld's theory, refer to no other evidence would seem conclusive that none has been advanced by anyone. It would seem clear, therefore, that Dörpfeld's theory depends entirely on his interpretation of the passage in *Od.* IX, 21-26.



In the review <sup>1</sup> already referred to, Rothe sums up the evidence substantially as follows:

One might willingly regard Leucas as one of the four islands, and clearly the one, which πανπερτάτη εἶν ἀλλ' κεῖται πρὸς ζόφον. But, on the other hand, there is against this assumption the difficulty not only of explaining the change of names but also of explaining the complete agreement of modern Ithaca with the Homeric presentation in such fullness of particulars as certainly does not apply to Leucas.

Without enumerating the details which follow, and which Rothe regards as agreeing with Thiaki, I think it is obvious that the only real evidence in favor of Dörpfeld's theory is the line quoted above. This agrees with the foregoing conclusions, and confirms my opinion that the only real foundation for Dörpfeld's theory is the passage in *Od. IX*, 21-26 interpreted as he interprets it.

In *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, p. 21, Allen says: "I hold that Homer lived about 950-900, in Chios or Smyrna, and compiled two poems on parts of the Trojan war out of already existing material which in our ignorance we may call equally well Chronicle or Saga." Some of that material we know was a sea story, or saga, now represented by the *Argonautica*. It is entirely reasonable, therefore, to infer that the passage in *Od. IX*, 21-26 was taken by Homer from this sea story, and the internal evidence, I submit, makes this more probable than that it was a geographic description drawn from personal knowledge, which is Dörpfeld's view. So interpreted, this passage contains an absolutely accurate description of Thiaki as seen from the deck of a ship off Cape Trepito. All the Homeric evidence becomes harmonious. It agrees with tradition. I conclude, therefore, that Dörpfeld's theory cannot be sustained and that Thiaki is the Homeric Ithaca.

The next question is as to the allocation of the two remaining Homeric names. Homer gives us considerable information about Dulichium, but very little about Same. Dulichium furnished forty ships for the Trojan war; Same and the other two islands only twelve. Dulichium furnished fifty-two suitors, the other three islands only

<sup>1</sup> Rothe, p. 173.

fifty-six, twenty-four of whom came from Same. It seems reasonable to infer from these figures<sup>1</sup> that Dulichium was a larger, more populous, and distinctly more important place than Same in the Homeric period. Today Cephalonia is a larger, more populous, and distinctly more important place than Leucas. It would seem most natural, therefore, to conclude that Cephalonia = Dulichium, and Leucas = Same.

This identification is somewhat confirmed by another striking fact. The modern population of Cephalonia is about 71,000; that of Leucas about 30,000. These two figures are almost in identical proportion to the number of suitors from the respective islands;  $\frac{30,000}{71,000}$  is almost exactly the same fraction as  $\frac{24}{52}$ . This result is very natural on the assumption that the development of the two islands was relatively the same in the Homeric period as now, and that when the Achaeans obtained control the subject territories were divided about equally among their chiefs and in relation to their capacity for supporting life. Both these assumptions seem reasonable, but, of course, are not proved. The evidence does not seem sufficient to do more than raise a degree of probability on the subject. Fortunately, however, it is not the only datum that we have.

In *Od.* IV, 671, Homer tells us that the suitors proposed to lay an ambush for Telemachus on his return, ἐν πορθμῷ between Ithaca and Same, and in XV, 29, Athene warns Telemachus that the ambush is actually there.

In *Od.* IV, 844 ff. we are told:

ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλ' πετρήεσσα,  
 μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
 Ἄστερις, οὐ μεγάλη· λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ  
 ἀμφίδυμοι· τῇ τὸν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί.

and in XVI, 364 f., the leader of the ambushade reports that they watched on the windy heights by day and cruised on the sea at night. From these data we learn that Asteris was:

<sup>1</sup> Many scholars have used these figures as evidence of the relative size and importance of the islands: Groeschl, pp. 10 and 31; Engel, p. 35; Goessler, p. 411; Michael, p. 18; Cauer<sup>2</sup>, p. 241, note 4; Lang, pp. 6 and 26; Belzner, p. 28; Rothe, p. 168.

1. ἐν πορθμῷ between Ithaca and Same.
2. That it had λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι.
3. That it had windy heights.
4. That it was half way between Ithaca and Same.
5. That it was so situated that the suitors could cruise ἐνὶ πόντῳ at night.

Now there are in fact only two islands which lie between any two of the four large islands. They are Daskalio, a rocky islet in the Ithaca channel, between Thiaki and Cephalonia, about opposite the Bay of Polis, but quite close to the shore of Cephalonia; and a larger island, Arkudi, between Thiaki and Leucas. Dörpfeld and those who have adopted his views all believe that Arkudi is Asteris. Bérard, Lang, and the other scholars who regard Thiaki as Ithaca think Daskalio is Asteris. The opinions of the latter class of scholars seem to have been somewhat influenced by the thought that it was necessary to make Daskalio Asteris in order to maintain that Thiaki was Ithaca. This is obviously unnecessary, and the subject may, it seems, be approached without misgivings on this point.

To take up the several characteristics of Asteris as given by the poet, the first, and probably the most important fact, is that it was situated ἐν πορθμῷ between Ithaca and Same. This Greek word has been commonly rendered by our word "strait," and Lang<sup>1</sup> argued that it meant a long, narrow channel, citing Strabo, X, 2, 8, where the word is used to designate the lagoon between Leucas and Acarnania, the use of this word for the Euripus and the Hellespont, and definitions from the lexicographers. The trouble is, however, that Lang did not pursue his inquiries far enough. Strabo<sup>2</sup> also used the word to designate the Strait of Gibraltar, which is just as short and wide as the Ithaca channel is long and narrow, and other classical writers have used this word in a number of instances where there is no sign of a strait in any sense to be found. Some of these examples may be found in my previous article on Asteris;<sup>3</sup> but perhaps the most striking example is Strabo, VII, 4: συχνοὶ γοῦν τῶν διαπλευσάντων

<sup>1</sup> Lang, pp. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, III, 1, 7; III, 2, 5; and note also his comparison of a strait to a mouth, III, 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Harvard Studies*, XXXIII, 65 f.

τὸν πορθμὸν ἅμα φασὶν ἰδεῖν ἀμφοτέρως ἐκατέρωθεν τὰς ἄκρας. Dr. Leaf<sup>1</sup> cites this as evidence that in crossing the Black Sea from Crimea to Cape Karambis, near Sinope, sailors never lost sight of land. If Strabo could properly designate this crossing of the Black Sea as a πορθμός, it seems to me that it must conclusively follow that in the classical period the word embodied a very different concept from that contained in our word "strait." This concept I found fairly represented by our word "trade-route." The fact that Homer himself defined the kindred word πορθμεύς in terms that agree closely with our idea of a common carrier, seems quite conclusive that in his time πορθμός must have had substantially this meaning. The course commonly followed by a common carrier across the sea is just what we call a trade-route. It is, of course, impossible to prove with absolute certainty that the trade-route from the west of Greece north ran through the channel between Leucas and Thiaki. Bérard thought it ran through the Ithaca channel. I have ventured to express a contrary opinion. Bérard is very positive that maritime customs do not change except for cause. The modern trade-route runs between Leucas and Thiaki. It is obviously the shortest route to and from the Corinthian Gulf, then, as now, an important terminus. The customary direction of the winds and the perils of the Ithaca channel both point in this direction. Athene's advice to Telemachus to keep far from the islands and to sail by night as well as by day is only explicable on this theory. Finally, we have the direct evidence of the *Argonautica* that the course of the Argo lay by the Echinades, which would not be the fact if the regular route was by the Ithaca channel. The evidence all seems to me to point to one conclusion. The πορθμός between Ithaca and Same referred to by Homer was the trade-route between Leucas and Thiaki. In any event, however, this identification cannot be excluded on Lang's theory that πορθμός meant only a long, narrow channel.

The second characteristic of Asteris, its two harbors, is another bit of evidence of real value. Bérard thinks that the appellation λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι is really the equivalent of a proper name, and means the island of the Twin Ports.<sup>2</sup> As there was no need for the island to have

<sup>1</sup> 'The Commerce of Sinope,' *J. H. S.*, XXXVI (1916), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bérard, II, 410.



more than one harbor, this looks as if the poet had a real place in mind and that this was one bit of its characteristic features. Bérard thinks that this means an inner and outer harbor, like Port Guiscardo on Cephalonia, near the north end of the Ithaca channel. The sense would, however, seem to be two harbors of essentially the same shape. In the *Argonautica*, I, 939, the isthmus of Cyzicus is described as ἐν δὲ οἱ ἄκραι ἀμφίδυμοι. Here the sense seems to be two shores just alike, or perhaps two shores, one on one side and one on the other. Now we have just this physical fact on Arkudi. On the east side, at the south end of the island, there is a coastal islet connected with the main island by a low isthmus. Marées's large-scale chart of Arkudi shows the position and character of this islet and isthmus very plainly. Photographs of it may be seen in his text and in Manly's and Goessler's articles. The two sides of this little isthmus would seem in fact to afford just the kind of stopping-place which ancient seamen preferred. The common practice in the *Odyssey* is to haul the boats up on shore when port is made, and a little isthmus with a beach on each side, protected on one side by the land, or a large island, and on the other by an islet, seems the ideal harbor. Champault<sup>1</sup> has a very interesting passage in which he describes just this type of harbor as the one preferred. The advantages of this port on Arkudi are obvious. The main island protected this shore from all but northeast, east, or southeast winds; the islet itself from east winds. The first and last are the two stormy winds, and one side or the other of the peninsula was safe in either case. As a temporary stopping-place this island seems well placed for usefulness, and, as it has now wood and water, it must have been even better supplied in Homer's time. It also has a good hill to see from. Apparently it has all the advantages which Bérard<sup>2</sup> enumerates for a port, except a cave, and seamen would naturally not expect to get every advantage everywhere. As a possible resting-place on the route to and from Corfu, its name, position, and character would be likely to be mentioned in any sea

<sup>1</sup> Philippe Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée*, Paris (1906), p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Bérard, I, 149 ff. The four characteristics are water-supply, caves, isles, woods, and hill. Bérard, p. 194, says any port having only one of these would be noted.

poem describing sailing routes and ports, and the particulars mentioned in *Od.* IV, 844 f. seem to be just the particulars a seaman would note. It is in the middle of the sea, half way between Ithaca and Same, it is rocky and not large, but it has twin harbors where ships may be safely beached.<sup>1</sup> All of the information supplied by Homer applies literally to Arkudi; and from it the suitors would naturally sail ἐνὶ πόντῳ at night. Now none of this description is in fact true of Daskalio. It is not in the mid-sea; it is not half way between the two islands; it has no places for hauling out ships at all; and, as it is surrounded by deep water,<sup>2</sup> it is impossible to see how it ever could have had any beaches. Bérard does not argue that it is Asteris for any of these reasons, but because, in his opinion, the trade-route ran by the Ithaca channel, and he thought that, for this reason, it would be the island mentioned in Homer's source. In this, it seems to me, he is right; but if his premise as to the trade-route is wrong, as I believe, and the trade-route in fact ran between Leucas and Ithaca, then his own reasoning requires us to identify Asteris with Arkudi.

The attempt to distinguish between the two islands on the ground of suitability for the ambush seems dangerous. For example, Shewan,<sup>3</sup> citing Bérard, asserts that Daskalio "commands the strait, and, low as it is, one can see over it to the south, as far as the Peloponneseus." This seems to imply that a watcher on Daskalio could see a boat entering the strait from the south. The statement may be true, but the inference is not, on account of the curvature of the earth's surface. He also says that Daskalio is only some two miles from the bay at Polis; but anyone who has tried to distinguish boats from the shore will tell you that this is much too far to be able to do so, unless there is some marked peculiarity of rig or size. As the Homeric boats were apparently all of the same rig, one square sail, and as there were other boats of approximately the same size — the suitors' boat had the same number of crew — it is difficult to see how

<sup>1</sup> ναύλοχος is defined in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* as "affording a safe anchorage, as it were the bed or resting-place of ships," and this passage is cited. When we consider the habit of hauling ships out on the shore when in port, the last part of this definition is very much more appropriate than the first, which is the one commonly used by the translators.

<sup>2</sup> Marées's report on this seems very conclusive; see *Ithakalegende*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Shewan, pp. 227 f.

the suitors could have stopped Telemachus without rowing out to intercept each boat which might be his. This they did not do, as Antinous said that they kept watch all day on the windy headlands. They only cruised at night. As a matter of fact, Daskalio does not seem as useful for their purpose as a watch on the hill just northwest of the city harbor. Partsch<sup>1</sup> says that this hill commands a view of the whole strait. Starting from here they could intercept Telemachus before he reached the harbor. Starting from Daskalio they would have to leave while Telemachus was three or four miles distant, in order to cover the two miles which lay between Daskalio and Telemachus's course and still intercept him at some distance from the harbor. Of course we know the ambush was not on this hill; but if Homer invented the story of the ambush from a personal knowledge of the locality, it is difficult to see why he should have selected so unfavorable a site as Daskalio for the spot of the ambush.

There is another and perhaps stronger objection to drawing any inference from the story of the ambush. We do not know the customary course for inhabitants of Ithaca to follow in returning from Pylos. The most direct way is not always the best. If by keeping to the east of Thiaki and following the trade-route the seamen would find more favorable winds so that they could sail and not be forced to row, they would be likely to follow the longer course. Menelaus waited some three weeks<sup>2</sup> on Pharos for a favorable wind. Odysseus did the same at the isle of the Sun. The instructions in the *Mediterranean Pilot* and the examples cited by Bérard seem to prove that the Ithaca channel was a dangerous place for sailboats; and it seems quite as probable that the regular route lay east of Thiaki and round its northern end as up through the channel. If this was the course, then Arkudi was quite as good a place to lie in wait as Daskalio. It was a little farther from the shore, but you could see farther from it, as it was higher and it was much more removed from the city and a better spot to work their fell purpose.

But, indeed, it seems hardly possible that Homer invented the details of the ambush from personal knowledge of the locality. He does not tell us how Telemachus reached the island after leaving the

<sup>1</sup> Partsch, *Ithaka*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* IV, 360 f.

trade route. He does not tell us which of the two harbors at the south end of the island he used. He does not tell us how the boat finally reached the city. We know nothing of the course of the suitors' boat after leaving the city until it is seen reëntering the harbor. In fact, we have no information about the whole matter except what the poet would have been likely to find in a poem or story telling of the course of the trade-route north. It is certainly remarkable how rigidly the poet has kept to the actual evidence before him. He seems to have invented nothing. When the details suit, he uses them; when they are lacking, he leaves the matter to the imagination of his hearers. If the trade-route ran by the Ithaca channel, it seems probable that Bérard is right and Daskalio is Asteris; but if, as I believe, the trade route ran east of Thiaki and out through the channel between Leucas and Thiaki, then Arkudi must have been the original from which the description of Asteris is taken.

Probabilities point to the trade-route running east of Thiaki, and out through the channel between Thiaki and Leucas, past Cape Dukato, the White Rock of the poet. On this route we find an island possessing the characteristics of such a port as Bérard thinks would be noted in any description of a trade-route. It possesses every one of the characteristics that the poet attributes to his Asteris. It is *ἐν πορθμῷ* according to the meaning attached to that word by the classic writers. It has Twin Ports, or, at all events, something which may well have served as such; just as they do now, according to Manatt,<sup>1</sup> for modern craft. It has windy heights. It is truly *μέσση ἀλί* between the two larger islands. The suitors could truly have cruised from it *ἐνὶ πόντῳ* at night. Not one of these facts is wholly true of Daskalio, unless we insist, in spite of the classic writers, in rendering *πορθμός* as a long narrow channel. Does it not logically follow that the probable solution is Arkudi = Asteris?

If Arkudi is Asteris, and Thiaki Ithaca, Leucas must have been Same, and Cephalonia Dulichium. This agrees with the probable inference to be drawn from the other data. In fact, it is the only solution that does agree. Allen includes part of the mainland with Leucas as forming the kingdom of Dulichium and the Echinades. It

<sup>1</sup> J. I. Manatt, *Aegean Days*, Boston (1914), p. 384.



seems probable that the Achaean masters of Leucas did control the opposite shore of the lagoon, as did the later masters of Leucas. Laertes's conquest of Nericus certainly looks this way. If so, the effective population and resources of Leucas would be increased; but, of course, this alone would prove nothing. It only makes the identification of Leucas with Dulichium more possible; it does not require it. As a matter of fact, Homer's evidence, such as it is, is just the other way. In enumerating the forces led by Meges he includes only the men who hold Dulichium and the Echinades. In the enumeration of the forces led by Odysseus we read:<sup>1</sup> "And Odysseus led the great-hearted Kephallenians, them that possessed Ithaka . . . and that dwelt in Samos and possessed the mainland and dwelt in the parts over against the isles."

Part of Elis is over against Zante, and part of Acarnania is opposite Leucas. If Leucas is Same, and Odysseus kept his herds in Elis, this enumeration includes just the parts in question. If Homer enumerates men from the mainland in Odysseus's contingent and none in Meges's, surely an identification of the islands consistently with this enumeration is distinctly more probable than one which requires at least some of the men "that dwelt in the parts over against the isles" to sail under Meges.

The only serious objection that I have seen made to the identification of Dulichium with Cephalonia is the suggestion that it is peculiar, to say the least, to have Meges's kingdom cutting right across that of Odysseus. This, at least from a modern point of view, sounds like a very good criticism, but may not the answer be that the several divisions enumerated in the Catalogue do not indicate political divisions? We know that in Caesar's time the Germans chose leaders for war,<sup>2</sup> but in peace the chiefs had no civil authority outside their own territory. The general view seems to be that the Achaeans came in from the north. They may, therefore, have been kindred to the later German tribes and had their customs. Ridgeway<sup>3</sup> thought they belonged to the Nordic race and were Celts. There is certainly some evidence that blondness and great stature were a distinguishing mark. If so, the leaders named in the Catalogue may have been war

<sup>1</sup> Translation by Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *B. G.*, VI, 22.

<sup>3</sup> W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, I, Cambridge, 1901.

chiefs only and the various groups led by them may have been politically independent and simply grouped for the purposes of the war. In that event we should have no kingdom of Meges cutting across that of Odysseus. It would mean simply that the men of Dulichium and the men of the Echinades had elected to fight under Meges just as the other three islands had elected to fight under Odysseus. Indeed, there seems to be something very natural in this alignment. The Echinades are called by the poet the "holy Echinean Isles." Why holy? Bérard again seems to afford the clue. He says that all early places of trade were put under the protection of a sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> The Echinades seem to be the natural locality for an exchange of cargoes between the men of the Ionian Isles and the seamen coming from the Gulf of Corinth. From the number of ships hailing from Dulichium evidently the carrying trade was largely in their hands. It was very natural, therefore, for the men of the Echinades to go with them rather than the other islanders with whom they did less business. At all events, it seems as if there was too much uncertainty about there being any common realm including Dulichium and the Echinades to give this last objection much weight. On the whole, an identification which harmonizes with the direct evidence that we find in Homer and which is consistent with probabilities is more reasonable than one which is not consistent with that evidence and which rests on theories, like changes from earthquake, trade route through the Ithaca channel, and so forth, which, while probable enough perhaps, do not necessarily exclude all other theories. The matter may not be capable of positive proof, but surely the former explanation is the more logical to adopt.

There remains only the question how the other data given by the poet fit the rugged scenery of Thiaki. Bérard and Lang have both answered this fully and affirmatively. That they are, in general, right can hardly be doubted. Two things to my mind prove this. First, Rothe, who evidently is convinced that Dörpfeld's interpretation of *Od.* IX, 21-26 is right, cannot agree with his conclusion, because all the other evidence fits Thiaki so much better. Second, both Goessler<sup>2</sup> and Marées<sup>3</sup> have attempted to contest this agreement

<sup>1</sup> Bérard, I, 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Woch. f. klass. Philol.*, XXIII (1906), cols. 57 f.

<sup>3</sup> Marées, *Ithakalegende*, pp. 233 f.

and, while some of their points undoubtedly have merit, their objections as a whole seem to me very unimportant. For example, Goessler says that the various supporters of the identity of Thiaki with Ithaca have located the city of Ithaca on varying slopes of the hills around the bay of Polis. As a matter of fact, the poet gives us no information that is conclusive on the subject. All he tells us is that the city is under Neios, that you go down hill from it to the harbor, and that after leaving the city on the path to the south end of the island you pass over the hill Hermes which overlooks the harbor. It seems to me that this leaves a rather large leeway, and that differences of actual location are mere differences of opinion, based, not on what the poet said, but merely on personal impressions of the neighborhood. Marées asserts that the Bay of Vathy is so much superior as a harbor that the city must have been there in Homer's time, if the island were Ithaca. Undoubtedly, from a modern standpoint, Vathy is the better harbor; but it does not follow that the Ithacans of Homer's time thought so. During the Middle Ages the place was deserted from fear of pirates. Piracy was an honorable profession in Homer's time, and the probabilities are that this harbor would then be deserted for the very same reason that caused it to be shunned later. Besides, the north end of the island may have been more favorable for agriculture in Homer's time than the land around Vathy. The latter may have been then too heavily forested. Such objections as these seem to me unimportant; but when these writers object to the distance between the Bay of Polis and the south end of the island, the question is different. It is true that Lang estimates that the distance to and fro could be covered in a day, and we may admit that he is right. But how Eumaeus could spend his days at Odysseus's home and his nights in his own house and get any sleep seems difficult to imagine. Manly felt this difficulty, and therefore fixed on the ruins on Mount Aetos as the site of the palace. The true answer would seem to be that the poet was unaware of this difficulty. If he never saw the island, this would be most natural. It is not at all probable that his ancient coast-pilot gave him the length of the island. If the poet did not know the island from personal observation the inaccuracy seems natural, not otherwise.

So, also, with the Cave of the Nymphs. There is certainly no such

cave there today, and Lang's suggestion that it has been destroyed by wind and wave does not seem applicable in the case of a land-locked harbor. It is, of course, possible that some mention of the cave on the hillside above Vathy may have been made in the poet's sources. It certainly would have been a safer place to hide treasure in than one hard by the harbor itself. But the cave itself does not seem to agree fully with the description and it looks as if we should have to admit at least some poetic embellishment, if not real fiction.

That there was some fiction in the narrative must be admitted; but what is noteworthy is the very small amount of it. The poet names two mountains, Neios and Neritos, and the striking peculiarity of Thiaki is that it consists chiefly of two mountain masses connected by a narrow isthmus. Neritos is named in *Od.* IX, 21-26, and, if this passage is a view of the island from the south, must have been the southerly mountain. This identification suits very well with the rest of the narrative. Mentès tells Telemachus, *Od.* I, 185 f., that he has left his ship in Rheithron Harbor beside the fields away from the city under woody Neios. Bérard says that this name means Brook Harbor and identifies it with Frikes Harbor, the only harbor on the island with a brook. Frikes is on the east side at the north end of the island. If Neritos is the southerly mountain, Neios must be the northerly one. Frikes Harbor is under this mountain, that is, at the foot of it. Mentès was on a trading trip and in haste. If so, Frikes would be the natural harbor to make from the trade-route. Ithaca, the city by the Bay of Polis, would have its cultivated land in the northerly section. This assumption suits Mentès's story, and also Telemachus's statement that the city was under Neios. Homer also mentions the haven of Phorcys. His account agrees very well with the Harbor of Vathy, and the position of this harbor suits the story. Odysseus is to be unknown at first and to go direct to Eumæus. Eumæus is at the south end of the island, and Vathy is the first harbor where Odysseus could be landed and reach Eumæus without being recognized. The way from it to the plain of Marathia, the site of Eumæus's hut, is rough and hilly. Telemachus lands in a harbor at the south end of the island. There are two suitable harbors here, Port St. Andrea at the southwest corner, and Port Ligia at the south-



east corner. The way from either to the plateau is possible. Near Port Ligia is the conspicuous cliff with a spring in the ravine which leads down from it to the shore; these are commonly accepted as Raven Rock and the Spring Arethusa mentioned by the poet. Both are features likely to be mentioned in a coast-pilot in connection with Port Ligia: the spring as a source of water, the rock as a landmark. That pigs were kept on the plateau above the rock is another piece of information likely to be noted. Supplies of food, particularly of fresh meat, are always noted in coast-pilots. Homer does not tell us which of these two ports he had in mind, and we have no positive evidence which he meant, but either fits the story. The way to the city is described as long, — a true statement, — but there is no evidence that its exact length is anywhere stated. This is hardly to be expected, for the coast-pilot would not naturally speak of this distance. The relative location of these various ports must have been very clearly stated for Homer to make such excellent selections for the purposes of his story. The farm of Laertes is spoken of. It was not on the direct road to the home of Odysseus, as Telemachus says Eumaeus would not pass it on his way to the palace. If, however, the palace was on one of the slopes surrounding the Bay of Polis, there was ample room in the north end of the island to locate the farm in accordance with the narrative. The references to this farm can hardly be regarded as fiction. It is incredible that the leaders did not have agricultural lands of their own. The description of its products may not have been taken from an actual survey, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that such crops were then obtained on the island. The descriptions in *Od.* IV, 600 f. and XIII, 344 f. have always been regarded as very accurate descriptions of Thiaki. The utmost that has been claimed is that they also fit Leucas.

It has been asserted that there are not today two springs in the neighborhood of the Bay of Polis which can be identified as the town fountain and that used by the household of Odysseus. This discrepancy, however, is easy to explain. Homer speaks of both mountains as covered by forest and of the island as well wooded. Forested country is always better supplied with springs, as the forest cover acts as a reservoir to retain the rainfall and let it flow down gradually. Today, with deforested hillsides, many springs must have been lost.

The result of our inquiry seems to be that except for the Cave of the Nymphs, practically every geographic detail in the narrative may be verified. Not all can be localized, as the poet does not furnish sufficient data for that purpose. Corresponding features can be found, and when the locality has no ear-marks, that is all that can be expected. Where the ear-marks are given, the reality agrees. Where the description is general, the reality affords an accurate context.

My conclusion is that the poet must have had a really accurate account of the trade-route north from Pylos, including a description of the ports of Thiaki, their relative position and the names and the character of the other three islands; and that he has confined his narrative very rigidly to the facts likely to be contained in such an account. The most important exception is the Cave of the Nymphs. Whether this was all fiction or merely transference does not seem determinable. In any event, it does not seem sufficient to detract from the inference that Homer really aimed to conform his narrative to the actual truth. How far other details should modify this conclusion is another question. In testing veracity the examination should be confined to matters which can be verified. There is no other evidence as to the persons and events recorded; but if his geography of Ithaca is right, it increases the probability that the other details were founded on good evidence also. If the descriptions of Ithaca exemplify the ideal expressed in the praise of Demodocus,<sup>1</sup> surely this is warrant for believing that the historical aspects of the poems have been composed with the same care and intelligence.

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Since the foregoing article went to press, Mr. Shewan has published an interesting paper on Asteris,<sup>2</sup> which requires consideration. His main argument seems to be that Daskalio agrees with Asteris in four main points, and that while it has today no 'twin havens' or, strictly speaking, 'windy heights,' it probably had twin havens in the Homeric period, and 'windy heights' may not mean more than the fifteen feet or so of height above sea level that it now exhibits. This list of deficiencies is, however, not quite complete. The poet

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* VIII, 487 f.

<sup>2</sup> 'Asteris and the Voyage of Telemachus,' *Classical Philology*, XIX (1924), pp. 297 ff.

tells us that the island Asteris is μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε. This statement is not, strictly speaking, true of Daskalio, but it is true of Arkudi. Asteris is described as being μέσση ἀλλί, and this description applies better to the waters about Arkudi than to those about Daskalio. The suitors cruise from it ἐνὶ πόντῳ at night. Here again the expression suits better the seas near Arkudi than the Ithaca channel. The identification of Leucas with Dulichium does not fit The Catalogue of Ships so well as the identification of Leucas with Same. Finally, the relative size and population of Cephalonia agree better with the statements about Dulichium than do the size and population of Leucas. These may be all minor points, but if Mr. Shewan's four propositions fit Arkudi as well if not better than Daskalio, they should be sufficient to justify a decision in favor of the former.

Mr. Shewan's four main points are:

"(1) Daskalio is, like Asteris, ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε; (2) it is, like Asteris, πετρήεσσα, οὐ μεγάλη; (3) it was suitable for the wooers' ambush; and (4) the identification agrees with the account of the return voyage of Telemachus from Pylos."

The last two points are discussed first; but it seems to me that there is nothing in this part of the narrative which fits Daskalio better than Arkudi. The question really turns on what was the probable course from Pylos to Ithaca. If that was by Elis to the Echinades, thence to the north end of Ithaca, and thence to the Bay of Polis, Arkudi was just as well situated for the purpose of the ambush as Daskalio and had some advantages over it. The poet does not tell us whether the course was by this route or by the Ithaca channel. Mr. Shewan says it was by the Ithaca channel, as that was the most direct line. Of course this is not conclusive. The most direct route is not always preferred. The Athenian expedition against Syracuse did not sail directly for that point when it rounded Greece. It went north to Corfu. The direction of the prevailing winds and the dangers of the Ithaca channel as noted in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, it seems to me, indicate that the seamen of Homer's time would have found it easier to reach Ithaca, the city, by the course east of the island. Mr. Shewan hardly discusses this evidence. He remarks<sup>1</sup> that "these Aegean squalls are really being overworked." . . . "The sea to the

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Philol.*, XIX (1924), p. 300.



east of Thiaki is also liable to squalls." This ignores the fact, well known to seamen, that squalls in the vicinity of mountains are much more dangerous than out in the open. The high land makes them more violent and irregular and one cannot see them coming as one can in the open. Besides, this takes no account of the prevailing winds. That the gods gave Telemachus a favoring breeze does not provide an answer, because the question here is not what course he took, but what he would be expected to take. This would naturally be the course which other seamen not helped by the gods ordinarily followed. The case of the Euripus does not seem in point. It doubtless proves that the Ithaca channel might have been used, not that it was used. The circumstances of the two cases are very different. The alternative to using the Euripus was to sail around outside of Euboea. This was a very different thing from sailing inside the Ionian islands. The seamen might well choose one and not the other. Moreover, all that Homer tells us agrees with the course east of Thiaki. Telemachus coasts the shore till he is off Elis and then steers for the Echinades.<sup>1</sup> Homer does not explain why Telemachus steered for a mark some twenty miles east of his destination, and there is nothing in the circumstances to indicate a necessity for doing so. How could a sailor hope to reach a definite location by steering for a mark which was almost as far to the east as his ship was to the south of the point he wished to reach? It could not be to avoid the woosers, because it was pitch dark and they could not possibly have seen him, even if they had been, as a matter of fact, on sufficiently high ground to do so. It looks as if the only route back to Ithaca that Homer knew was the route east of Thiaki.

So also as to the return to the city. All we are told is that Telemachus landed in a harbor, by inference, at the south end of Thiaki. There are only two possible harbors here, Port St. Andrea at the southwest corner, and Port Ligia on the east coast near the southerly end of the island. We are not told which side of Thiaki the ship sailed to reach the city. It could have sailed either way. If so, the woosers on Arkudi could have seen the boat pass and fail to catch it, just as well as if they had been on Daskalio.

<sup>1</sup> This is Mr. Shewan's identification of the *νήσοις θοῖσιν*, *Class. Philol.*, XIX (1924), p. 301.



I am glad to see that Dr. Leaf thought Daskalio unsuited to any ambush. The whole story seems to me impractical. But be that as it may, certainly the narrative is too indefinite to warrant any conclusion that the customary route back from Pylos was necessarily by way of the Ithaca channel. The soundest position seems to be that neither the ambush nor the story of the return is sufficiently definite to afford a basis for deciding between the two islands.

Mr. Shewan next discusses the meaning of *πορθμός*. He remarks that he does not think the classical writers thought of it as meaning 'trade-route.' Of course, no one knows now what Strabo and the others actually thought when they used the word. All we can do is to see what reasonable inferences may be drawn from the way they used this word. Mr. Shewan does not dispute the suggestion that the word must then have contained some fundamental concept, which made it a suitable expression for the several bodies of water to which these writers applied it; nor does he suggest any different common concept from the one proposed. On the contrary, he seems to admit it as correct. All he suggests is that the classical usage may have been the result of expansion. Even so, the earlier meaning must have been one from which the later meaning could be derived. Our only evidence is just to this effect. Homer defines the related word *πορθμῆς* in terms that show it meant seamen engaged in the public transport of passengers. We also know from the incident of Philoetius (*Od.* XX, 185 f.) that they also carried freight. This apparently connects both words with trade or commerce and when we find in the classical period the fundamental meaning still connected with trade or commerce, the probability is that this fundamental concept was the current conception in the Homeric period. The argument *ex silentio* which is invoked does not seem convincing. If Homer's *πορθμός* was the Ithaca channel, why did not the poet say that the suitors cruised at night ἐνὶ πορθμῷ and not ἐνὶ πόντῳ? Mr. Shewan himself describes the suitors as cruising in the Ithaca channel (p. 303).

Even if we assume with Mr. Shewan that the word meant 'strait' in Homer, this proves nothing. In order to weigh as evidence in favor of Daskalio and against Arkudi, the word must have meant such a physical configuration of land and water as would fit the Ithaca channel and not the channel between Leucas and Thiaki. Our

word 'strait' fits either place. It sometimes designates a long and relatively narrow channel like the Straits of Magellan, and sometimes a very short and broad one like the Strait of Gibraltar or Behring Strait.

The definition of the old lexicographers of στενὸν τῆς θαλάσσης or that of Eustathius (cited p. 304) does not say whether narrow means one mile or ten, nor whether it is a long narrow or a short narrow. Even if we assume that they meant a long narrow channel, like the Ithaca channel, their definition proves nothing for Homer. Between them and Homer are the classic writers with whom the word had obviously no physical meaning. To assume that a word which was used in the classical period without any physical significance had a very limited physical meaning in Homer's time because the lexicographers so define it seems stretching the evidence. Moreover, Homer used the related word πορθμῆες, to quote Mr. Shewan's own words (p. 305), of "the strip or sheet of water that had to be crossed," in *Od.* XVI, that between Corfu and Italy, in *Od.* XX, that between Thiaki and the mainland. These were certainly not long narrow channels, and the idea of a crossing fits one channel as well as the other.

As to πετρήεσσα the *Mediterranean Pilot*<sup>1</sup> says of Arkudi, "its shores are rocky and steep-to." This is important information for seamen, and just as important in Homer's time as now. It is a feature that would naturally be noted in a description prepared for the use of seamen. In the absence of proof that Homer described Asteris from his own observation, the fact that Arkudi is not all bare rock does not seem decisive.

As to οὐ μεγάλη, the question is really one of comparison. Arkudi is large compared to Daskalio, but small compared to any one of the four large islands. Here again the fairest conclusion would seem to be that the characteristic might fairly be applied to either island.

Then follows the argument that the formation on Arkudi does not constitute real harbors within the Homeric meaning of that word. Two questions are really involved here: (1) Does said formation in fact provide a suitable place where the navigators might stop *en route* between Corfu and Pylos or Corfu and the Corinthian Gulf? And (2) was λιμὴν used as a designation of such a stopping place?

<sup>1</sup> III, 459, U. S. Ed. 1917.



# Plan von Arkudi.

3 auf Thälen in der  
Leukas - Megara Strasse



## Jonisches

Cap Dukato auf Leukas,

offenes Meer

Nordwestspitze von Rephallenia

ionischer Meer

Nordspitze von Thiakei

## Erläuterungen.

- Höhen in Metern über der Strandlinie.
- \* Felsen bis zur Oberfläche des Meeres reichend und Klippen. Die Höhen sind stark mit Buschwerk bestanden.
- ☼ Sandstrand.
- ⌚ benutzte Kapelle.
- ⌚ Ruine einer Kapelle.
- C Cisterne.
- a Schnittpunkt aller Aussichtslinien, die zwischen den Aussichtslinien befindlichen Namen geben die Objekte der Fernsichten an.
- Gehege.

Die gesammte Küste ist unzugänglich und felsig.

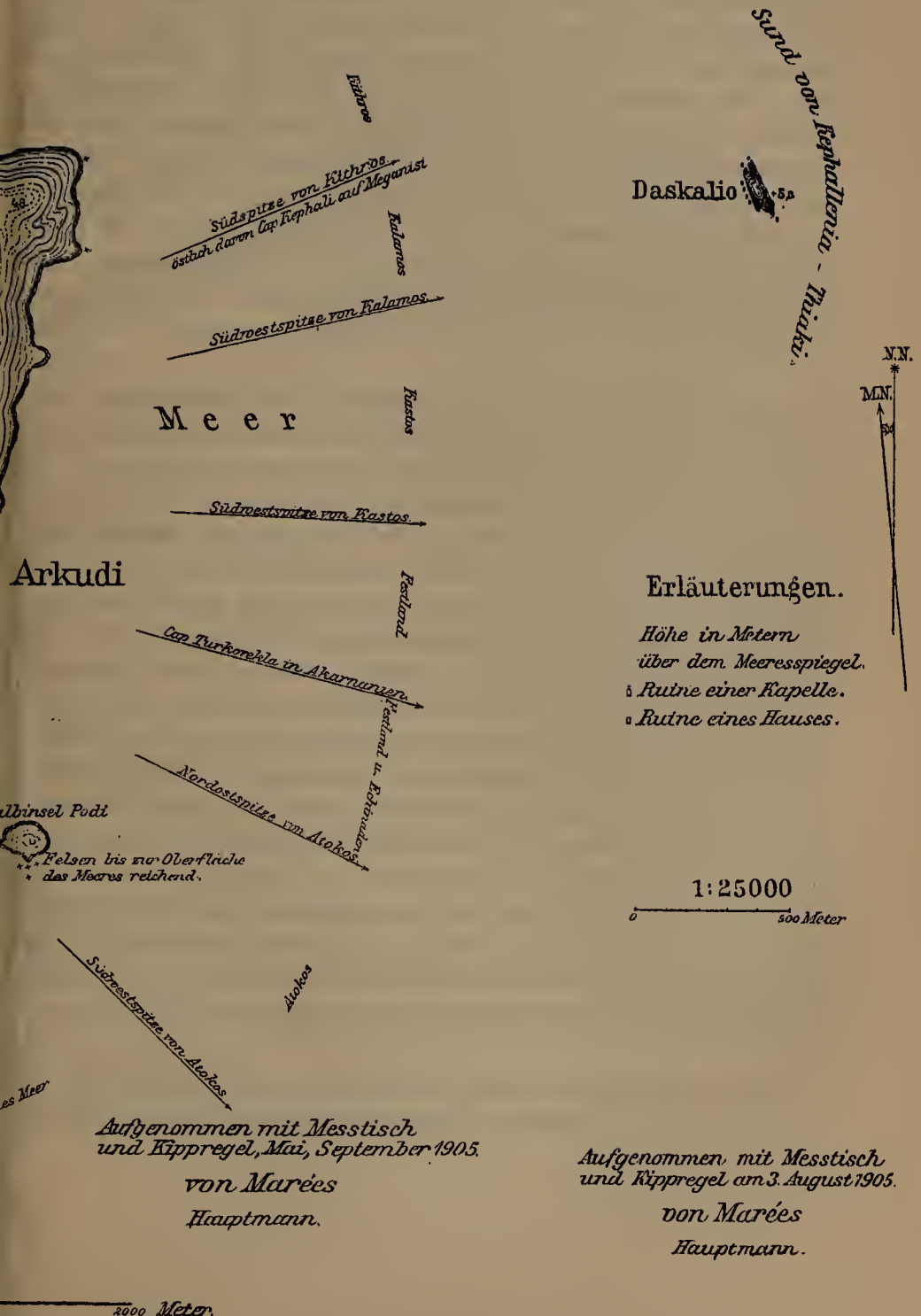


1:25000.

500 0 500 1000



# Plan der Insel Daskalio.





It is apparently well agreed that the Homeric seamen kept, as far as possible, close to the shore, and that they preferred to make short runs so as to go ashore for meals and sleeping. This matter has been so well presented by Bérard that it needs no further discussion. The distance from Pylos to Corfu is much too great to be covered in a single day's run. The distance from Pylos to Oxia is about the same as the distance from the Bay of Polis to Pylos; the run to Oxia could therefore be made during the day breeze. By the night wind the trip to Arkudi could be made under sail; but by that time the crew would certainly want to go ashore for meals and rest. As the run from Cape Dukato to Corfu is about the same distance as from Pylos to Oxia, the navigators would undoubtedly choose the nearest place to Cape Dukato for their stop. This from the chart is obviously Arkudi, and the advantages of such an island port are fully described by Bérard.<sup>1</sup>

On the easterly side of Arkudi near its southerly end there is an islet connected with the shore by an isthmus. Manly describes the isthmus as being from four to six feet high and a few yards broad. A better idea of the shape and location of this coastal islet can be obtained from the large-scale chart made of it by Marées<sup>2</sup> and shown on Karte IV of his *Karten von Leukas*. From this chart it appears that the isthmus and islet extend about 250 metres S. S. E. from the larger island and that the southern end of the islet is continued southerly by a reef about awash, so that in combination with the main island, the shore of which runs south for about 500 metres, the isthmus, islet, and main shore form a semi-circular bay open only to southerly winds. The reefs at the southerly end of the islet extend at least 100 metres southerly of the shore at the head of this bay. On the north side of the isthmus this chart shows a smaller semi-circular port open to the northward. It must also not be forgotten that Négis has proved extensive subsidence of the lands in the eastern Mediterranean since about 2000 B.C. and that the stone moles at the south entrance of the lagoon between Leucas and Acarnania indicate a subsidence of about ten feet in that vicinity since the Homeric period.

<sup>1</sup> Bérard, I, 177 f.

<sup>2</sup> Reproductions of this chart and that of Daskalio, which have been made with the permission of the publishers, are annexed to this paper.

There is reason, therefore, to believe that the little isthmus and the rocks southerly of the islet were farther out of water in Homer's time than now. It should also be noted that this portion of Arkudi is much exposed to southeasterly gales. These, though uncommon in summer, are fairly common in winter. There must, therefore, have been much erosion of the coastal islet in the three thousand years which have elapsed since Homer's time, the effect of which would be felt most on its southern shore. Both these factors justify the inference that these twin ports in Arkudi were better ports in Homer's time than they are today.

Mr. Shewan (p. 312) asserts that the angle of the southerly port is "so obtuse as to be hardly an angle at all." Mr. Shewan is evidently judging from the photographs, and photographs distort just such elements. I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of Marées's chart. Partsch gives his surveys unstinted praise.

Mr Shewan (p. 311) hints that these ports were not protected from westerly winds by the main island. This is obviously wrong. Bérard says the ancient port of Kos was protected from southerly gales by a coastal island (Vol. I, p. 42), and that the ancient port of Minoa was protected by outlying islands (Vol. I, p. 205). See also the discussion of St. Michael's Mount as a harbor, in *Ancient Britain* by Rice-Holmes (p. 502), and by Lyell in *Principles of Geology* (Vol. I, pp. 545 f.). If coastal islands did not afford adequate protection, why were they chosen as sites for trading posts by the Phoenicians, as Thucydides tells us (VI, 2)?

I have spent the last thirty summers at Marblehead, Massachusetts, and during most of this time I have had my own boat and raced and sailed her in the waters off this coast. Marblehead Neck, which forms the easterly side of Marblehead, is exposed on its easterly side to the full force of the waves of the Atlantic Ocean. There are apt to be several northeasterly storms during the summer; but I have never seen the ocean swell running round into the harbor except very much diminished and for a very limited distance, much less than the distance from the south end of Arkudi to the little isthmus. Tinker's Island is a little island off the southerly end of the Neck. Its easterly side is open to the Atlantic. Its whole length is not more than a thousand feet, but boats are moored on its westerly side under its lee and



are kept there in perfect safety during the summer season of about six months.

I feel perfectly sure that every seaman will agree that no swell from the Ionian Sea could cause trouble to a vessel in either of the ports on Arkudi. But, says Mr. Shewan, "Paulatos says the first *πνοή* of a southeast wind makes the approach of a vessel impossible, and that the waves dash over the neck of land." This statement seems too indefinite to be valuable. Surely this would not happen in a gentle southeast wind, and that is the customary southeast wind in the fine-weather period. Marées's records of the direction and velocity of the wind during most of 1905 show only one day from June first to October first when the wind blew strong from the southeast, and then it did not begin till after the morning observation and there was calm at evening. Between May first and November first there were seventeen days when the wind from the southeast was light; eight when it was strong. There was only one time, May tenth and eleventh, when it blew strong for twenty-four hours.

Marées writes (*Karten von Leukas*, p. 22) that in the spring of 1905 they were obliged, in a southerly storm at night, to run into the north harbor, whilst in the autumn of the same year they learned that a large Greek yacht, in a northerly storm, had sought shelter in the southerly harbor. Marées may be prejudiced in favor of Dörpfeld, but that seems no reason to doubt facts stated on his own knowledge.

The port of Phalerum was an open bay exposed to the south. Its general shape is not unlike what must have been the shape of the southerly harbor on Arkudi in the Homeric period. (See chart in Bérard, Vol. I, p. 71.) But it was preferred by the foreign shipping to the Piraeus (see p. 181). The port of Naxos in Sicily, possibly the site of the *λιμένι γλαφυρῶ* of *Od.* XII, 305, is another ancient harbor which was only an open bay. (See chart in Bérard, II, p. 376.)

Mr. Shewan (p. 311) declares in effect that no harbor will satisfy him but real havens such as Phorcys haven, but Bérard (Vol. I, p. 91) writes, "que leurs ports et débarcadères ne sont jamais au fond d'une rade close, mais à portée de la mer libre." Bérard supports this opinion with such an array of facts that no one should accept Mr. Shewan's opinion without first reading Bérard, particularly Vol. I,

pp. 149 f. As a matter of fact, Homer tells us that Odysseus would not enter the beautiful harbor of the Laestrygonians, but moored outside. Fear of the inhabitants is one of the chief reasons why Bérard thinks the early navigators shunned the better harbors.

Mr. Shewan further argues that the word λιμήν could not be used to designate these havens. There are several reasons why this seems to me to be going further than the evidence warrants. Surely havens which offered safe stopping places to the Homeric mariners would *prima facie* come within their word for harbor. Second, Rheithron is called a λιμήν by the poet (*Od.* I, 186). Its identification with Port Frikes on Thiaki is only disputed by those who maintain that Leucas is Ithaca. This port is a V-shaped indentation in the east coast of Thiaki open to the east. (See chart in Bérard, Vol. II, p. 455.) Its essential features seem the same as the north port of Arkudi. Both are V-shaped indentations in the coast line, one open to the north, the one to the east. If λιμήν fits one, why not the other?

On page 315, Mr. Shewan evidently approves of Paulatos's report of the remains of a λιμήν on the north end of Daskalio. Marées's chart of Daskalio (*Karten*, IV) shows these remains as two reefs projecting northerly from the island with an open space between them open to northerly winds. If this could have been a λιμήν, there seems no ground for refusing the same title to the ports on Arkudi.

Mr. Shewan quotes from *Od.* V, 404, but he quotes only part. The whole line reads

οὐ γὰρ ἔσαν λιμένες νηῶν ὄχοι, οὐδ' ἐπιωγαί.

The word ἐπιωγαί is defined by Liddell and Scott Abridged, as "places sheltered from the wind." If a λιμήν was a closed port, as Mr. Shewan thinks, there is no need for the second epithet. Liddell and Scott also define ὄχος as "anything which bears," and, in view of the custom of beaching boats at night, it would seem that the idea of bearing or carrying the ship is the real concept. If so, the line probably means "For there were no harbors where ships might be beached or find a lee." As for the epithets quoted, the more natural inference would seem to be that there were some λιμένες to which they would not apply.

Mr. Shewan (p. 310) thinks the λιμένες θαλάσσης of *Od.* V, 418 means inlets protected by ἡμόνας παραπλήγας, but Murray renders

this passage "in hope to find shelving beaches and harbours of the sea." The use of  $\tau\epsilon$  seems to imply, not contrast, but similarity, just as if the swimmer thought a shelving beach was a harbor of the sea. As a matter of fact, the storm being over, all Odysseus needed was a shelving beach to make a landing.

As to *Od.* VI, 264, referred to on page 310, so far as the Greek text is concerned, the narrow entrance may be the road to the city, not the entrance to the harbor. Palmer translates this line "a beautiful harbor on each side and a narrow road between." As there were two harbors and only one entrance referred to, this would seem the most reasonable construction. So interpreted, we have a very perfect picture of just the kind of site for a trading post that Thucydides ascribes to the Phoenicians. Mr. Shewan (*Class. Philol.*, XIV (1919), pp. 97 f.) suggested that  $\Phi\alpha\lambda\eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  is but an assumed name for  $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  and that they were in fact a trading colony of Minoans. His paper seemed to me most convincing, but, if so, how appropriate to find Homer describing their trading post in the same way as Thucydides does later!

I have dwelt thus long on these harbors, as I think they afford an important element in the determination of Asteris. From Bérard's exposition of the ways and needs of the Homeric navigators, and from the shape and position of these harbors as shown by Marées's chart, I think they were suitable ports for the period of navigation. Mere beaching places they were not. They were beaching places open only to two dangerous winds, one to the southeasterly gales, the other to northerly. Neither of these gales is common in summer. If either was blowing, the other harbor was safe. What more could be asked? Mr. Shewan has not proved that a  $\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  meant a harbor surrounded by land with only a narrow entrance; and without this there does not seem sufficient ground for excluding these ports as not  $\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ .

We are next invited to believe that Arkudi was the Homeric Kroky-leia, and therefore could not be Asteris. The suggestion is put persuasively, but does not seem to have much point. The only expert cited says that the suggestion is "quite unacceptable." The suggestion may be a possibility; but mere possibilities cannot weigh against positive evidence. Strabo's statement that Daskalio was known as

Asteria in his day is undoubtedly competent, but it is not conclusive. As Leucas lost its Homeric name, which is now found on Cephalonia, there is no reason why a similar accident might not have happened to the adjoining island Arkudi.

Mr. Shewan's argument that Daskalio had the twin havens in Homer's time does not seem convincing. Habitations may imply landing places, but not necessarily harbors, and certainly not *twin havens*. The destructive forces of nature or man, or both, may have been at work; but that alone does not tell us what has been destroyed. One cannot reconstruct an ancient temple unless there are enough remains to justify the conclusions. To warrant the inference of a former harbor on Daskalio there should be reefs or other remains so that its general outline can be traced. Mr. Shewan says Paulatos has found such remains at the north end of Daskalio. Even if this be admitted to be correct, still (to quote his own words as to Arkudi) Daskalio "does not provide the required twin havens."

I agree entirely with Mr. Shewan that the questions involved cannot be settled with certainty. The utmost that can be claimed is a reasonable probability. I differ from him, however, as to the direction in which these probabilities point. I think they point to Arkudi, and not to Daskalio, for the following reasons:

(1) The internal evidence of the poem indicates that Homer used some sea poem or story describing the sea routes west of Greece as the source from which he drew his descriptions of the sea parts of the epic. If so, Asteris was probably an island on the trade-route.

(2) *πορθμός* probably meant something like our expression 'trade-route.' This also points to Arkudi.

(3) The 'twin havens' sound like a real place and Arkudi is the only island between any two of the four large islands which possesses a formation which could possibly be so designated.

(4) The minor details agree better with Arkudi than Daskalio.

(5) The Catalogue of Ships agrees better with the identification of Dulichium with Cephalonia, and Same with Leucas than *vice versa*.

(6) The fact that the modern population of Cephalonia bears almost the same proportion to the modern population of Leucas as the number of suitors from Dulichium to the number of suitors from Same seems a significant verification of the correctness of these deductions.



THE SCHOLIA IN THE VIRGIL OF TOURS,  
BERNENSIS 165<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN JOSEPH SAVAGE

THILO and Hagen's critical edition<sup>2</sup> of the extant ancient commentaries on Virgil marked an epoch in the history of Virgilian scholarship. To their exhaustive labors in that field all Latin scholars owe a deep debt of gratitude. Thilo's introduction to his edition of the most voluminous and important of these commentaries — the compilation known as *Servius auctus*, first edited by Pierre Daniel in 1600 — is a model of masterly analysis and presentation. Thilo's own theories as to how this mass of scholia came to take on the form preserved in the few extant manuscripts of the "Servius of Daniel" (DS)<sup>3</sup> led him to use the marginal commentary in the Tours Virgil merely as an aid to a critical edition of the scholia to *Aen.* 3-12, based on one manuscript only, formerly in the monastery of Fleury (*Floriacensis*), now divided into two parts, one in the Berne library (*Bernensis* 172) for *Aen.* 3-5, the other in Paris (*Parisinus Bibl. Nat. lat.* 7929) for *Aen.* 6-12. In this he was but following the precedent set by Daniel. For the first two books of the *Aeneid*, Thilo, here too, steering in the wake of the first editor, based his text for DS on *Cassellanus ms. poet. fol.* 6, Daniel's *Fuldensis*. He used besides this another manuscript as an aid for establishing the text of the DS

<sup>1</sup> This study was presented as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University in 1924. I wish here to express my obligations to Professor E. K. Rand, without whose encouragement, kindness and patience this rather difficult piece of work would not have been brought to completion.

<sup>2</sup> *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vol. I (1881), II (1884), III, 1 (1887), edited by G. Thilo; vol. III, 2 (1902), edited by H. Hagen. I will cite that work as either Thilo or Hagen according to the volume concerned.

<sup>3</sup> This seems a convenient formula to indicate those scholia which are composed of the vulgate Servius and the additional matter interwoven in the Servian text as represented by the MSS which Daniel procured from Limoges, Fulda and Fleury. The letter *D* shall stand for the additional scholia of Daniel uncontaminated by the vulgate Servius; *S* for this last. *Vaticanus* 3317 will be cited by name inasmuch as this MS. was not used by Daniel.

Commentary to these two books. This codex, *Parisinus* 1750,<sup>1</sup> contains in an abbreviated form the Daniel scholia to *Aen.* 1-2.

The most important of the marginal notes in the Virgil of Tours have been used by both Daniel and Thilo to obtain a critical text for the *D* scholia found in the Fleury manuscript; both these manuscripts derive their scholia from an exemplar which did not contain any continuous *DS* comment for the first two books of the *Aeneid*. The principal scholiasts in *T*<sup>2</sup> on *Aen.* 3-12 wished, apparently, to supplement their copies of Servius, for they almost invariably have omitted all but the additional matter. In the text of *D*, however, these commentators occasionally show better readings than does the Fleury codex, and for some important scholia they are our only authority.<sup>3</sup> This complicated state of affairs led Thilo to put forward as a tentative hypothesis his theory of a conglomeration of scholia gathered by some intelligent compiler or compilers from various sources and fused with an original Servius.

For the scholia to the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* Thilo used Daniel's one exemplar for the *DS* commentary to these poems, *Codex Lemovicensis*, now *Leidensis Voss.* 81 n. 80 (*Ecl.* 4-10, *Geor.* 1, 1-278), and he likewise drew from another manuscript containing valuable additional notes to the four *Georgics*; this is *Vaticanus* 3317, the commentary in which was first published by Fulvius Ursinus in Rome a few years before Daniel brought out his edition of the so-called enlarged Servius.<sup>4</sup>

Daniel's conclusions as to the origins of the *DS* commentary are very simple. Servius, according to him, was the author of the entire body of scholia published in his edition; the vulgate books are but an abbreviated form of the true and unabridged Servius which he was now bringing to light for the first time. This theory he upheld by the apparently irrefutable evidence of the *D* scholium on *Ecl.* 6, 76: the identical words are cited by Macrobius (*Sat.* 6, 7, 4 ff.) as having been spoken by Servius himself. Daniel, however, would not exclude the possibility of accretions to this body of scholia from sources other than his hypothetical unabridged Servius.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This book was formerly in Daniel's library; see below, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> I follow Thilo in the use of this letter to denote the Virgil of Tours, *Bern.* 165.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Ursinus published his work in 1587.

<sup>5</sup> See *Epistola ad lectorem*, *passim*.

Long before the publication of the first volume of his edition Thilo had broached this problem.<sup>1</sup> A French scholar, Emile Thomas, stimulated by Thilo's researches, examined the data anew in 1879.<sup>2</sup> He showed by judicious comparison and analysis of the two strata of interpretation that the *D* scholia were not of Servian origin.<sup>3</sup> This was in accord with Thilo's conclusions as to the derivation of these scholia. The question, which hardly presented itself to Thomas, as to the unity or multiplicity of authorship of this great body of comment, was settled according to Thilo,<sup>4</sup> as has already been stated, in favor of a plurality of sources. He added the suggestion that a further study of the various strata of comment in the Tours manuscript might throw more light on this difficult problem.

A way was left for some apostle of unity to point out a path through this labyrinthine maze. More recently than either Thomas or Thilo, another scholar, Karl Barwick,<sup>5</sup> opened the question anew. Taking Thilo's stand that *D* and *S* represent two distinct strata, he put the question in a new light by showing with no little acumen that *D* represents a distinct and well-articulated commentary, not a hodge-podge of various comments from sources common to both *S* and *D*. The additional scholia came from an ancient commentary on Virgil, written as far back as 400 A.D.<sup>6</sup> He agrees with Thilo that the compiler seems to have done his work in Ireland<sup>7</sup> as far back as the seventh

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones Servianae*, Halle, 1867; *Rheinisches Museum*, XIV (1869), pp. 119 ff., 535 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Essai sur Servius et son commentaire sur Virgile*, Paris, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff., distinguished between the compilers represented by the *Lemovicensis*, *Fuldensis* and *Floriacensis* MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *Praef.*, pp. v ff.

<sup>5</sup> "Zur Servius Frage" in *Philologus*, LXX (1911), p. 108. Barwick, p. 108, n. 2, sees in the additional notes in *Vat.* 3317 evidence that we have here also remains of the same ancient commentary such as are found in the MSS. used by Daniel.

<sup>6</sup> Owing to a typographical error 500 is printed in Barwick's article instead of the correct 400; see H. J. Thomson, "Fragments of Ancient Scholia on Virgil Preserved in Latin Glossaries" in *Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries*, 1921, p. 56 (with W. M. Lindsay). I shall hereafter refer to this work merely by the author's name.

<sup>7</sup> This in spite of the fact that no distinctively Irish glosses have been found in the MSS. of *Servius auctus*. It is true that Thilo (*Praef.*, p. LXVIII, n. 2) has tentatively brought forward what he calls some '*glossae Iro-celticae*' in the additional



century. This, according to Barwick's theory, would allow sufficient time (200 years) for the evolution of a conglomerate body of comment from a hypothetical exemplar containing the Servian and another commentary *X* written side by side.<sup>1</sup> Barwick supports his theory from the analogy of the so-called Berne scholia which, he has shown,<sup>2</sup> represent a combination of Servius and Filargirius; this compilation, he holds, probably had its origin in Ireland in the seventh century. Barwick bases his opinion on the so-called Irish (really old Breton) glosses in *Bernensis* 167<sup>3</sup> (a copy of the Fleury codex) and especially on the occurrence of the name of Adamnanus<sup>4</sup> in the comment in the Berne scholia on *Ecl.* 3, 90.

From internal evidence and with the aid of Thilo's critical apparatus, Barwick thus postulated two distinct commentaries which ultimately came into the form known to us as *Servius auctus*. It was left for Rand five years later to state Barwick's theory in a more complete form. The burden of proof, Rand holds,<sup>5</sup> rests on those who, like Barwick, think that *D* is not Donatus but an intermediate link between Donatus and Servius. The compiler went about his work in an intelligent fashion, using Servius as a basis, since that commentary "contained both the original comment and a criticism of it."<sup>6</sup> We have thus in the *Servius auctus* manuscripts of Daniel substantially the commentary of Donatus, if we make allowance for the fact that the compiler added only what had not already been appropriated by Servius.<sup>7</sup> Thomson believed that this theory does not take into con-

scholia of Daniel. These, so far as the present writer knows, have not been investigated by Celtic scholars. Stokes and Strahan, the editors of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, do not seem to have been aware of their existence, — that is on the assumption that they are Irish and not Welsh or Breton.

<sup>1</sup> Barwick, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> See his study in *Commentarii Philologici Ienenses*, VIII, 2 (1909).

<sup>3</sup> Transcribed by Hagen, "Scholia Bernensia," *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementbd., IV (1867), pp. 691-692. For their identification as old Breton, see J. Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux-breton*, 1884, introd., p. VIII. I have noticed two other possible old Breton glosses in the same MS.: on *Aen.* 2, 340: 'luna i. loercann': on v. 280: 'apex, summitas capitis vel piller.'

<sup>4</sup> Abbot of Iona, 697-704. His name also occurs in the MSS. containing the *Explanationes in Bucolica* attributed to Filargirius, which have Irish glosses.

<sup>5</sup> "Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?" in *The Classical Quarterly*, X (1916), p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.



sideration the fact that Servius must have had some original ideas of his own as to the interpretation of Virgilian passages; he agrees, however, that in the main Servius must have taken his cue from Donatus.<sup>1</sup> I have approached the problem from a different angle. My task has been to examine first of all the *Turonensis* with its multitudinous scholia and let the different scholiasts there represented answer for themselves, if possible, the question as to the source of their interpretations; secondly, in the light of the results obtained from an analysis of the scholia of this and some other more or less closely related manuscripts, I would examine again the problem of the fate of the commentary on Virgil by Aelius Donatus in the early Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript of Tours, *Bernensis* 165, was at one time in the library of Pierre Daniel, the learned notary and bibliophile of Orléans. Daniel, acting as 'bailli seigneurial,' had the monastery of St. Benoit-Sur-Loire at Fleury under his care.<sup>3</sup> He was enabled to save many precious volumes at the sacking of the monastery at the hands of the Huguenots in 1562. On Daniel's death in 1603, his friend Bongars acquired part of his valuable library. The books were later (1632) presented to the city of Berne by Jacob Graviset, to whose father the books came on Bongars's death in settlement of a loan.<sup>4</sup> The *Turonensis* and part of the *Floriacensis* (= *Bern.* 172) with an incomplete copy of this Fleury codex (*Bern.* 167) originally from Auxerre (Daniel's *Autissiodorensis*) formed part of this bequest. The other part of the Fleury manuscript (*Paris. lat.* 7929, containing *DS* scholia

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> During the years 1915-1917, I was enabled by means of a Traveling Fellowship from Harvard University to examine the Tours MS. in Berne and to make arrangements for having a rotograph copy made of the entire book. I am indebted to M. E. Meyer, custodian of the State Archives at Berne, for his careful supervision of this work under great difficulties. By means of this same Fellowship, I was able to study in the libraries of Paris and Montpellier the other MSS. that I have used in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hagen, *Zur Geschichte der Philologie*, Berlin, 1879, p. 13, "Der Jurist und Philolog, Peter Daniel aus Orléans."

<sup>4</sup> Hagen, *op. cit.*, "Jacobus Bongarsius," pp. 92 ff. The library given to Berne consisted of about 3000 printed books and 300 MSS. The rest of Daniel's library (about one-half) was acquired by his relative Paul Petau, through whose son Queen Christina of Sweden got possession of most of the valuable MSS.

on *Aen.* 6-12) together with another, *Paris. lat.* 1750, used by Thilo in emending the text of the *Fuldensis*, found their way into the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. These two Paris codices were formerly in Daniel's library.<sup>1</sup>

The *Turonensis* contains 219 folia and two blank leaves, 30 lines to the page (with the exception of ff. 49a to 50b, which hold but 20 lines each), all written by the same hand. Each folium is 32 cm. in height and 25 cm. in width. The script is early ninth-century Carolingian minuscule.<sup>2</sup> The titles of each poem and the initial letters of each verse are in rustic capitals. In ff. 1a and 1b is found the *Carmen Octaviani* (*Anth. lat.*, Riese 672): *Ergone supremus . . . placent relegatur ametur*. A few interlinear glosses of slight value occur here. Then follows (f. 1b) in rustic capitals a note by a certain Berno,<sup>3</sup> 'gregis

<sup>1</sup> *Paris.* 1750 is now a fragment; the rest of the MS. is in Leiden. See Thilo, *praef.*, p. LVII. Daniel called this MS. the S.G. codex (St. Germain of Auxerre?). Cf. F. M. Carey, *De Scriptura Floriacensi*, (Summary) in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, p. 194. This with the second part of the Fleury codex (*Paris. lat.* 7929) was not in Queen Christina's possession.

<sup>2</sup> See Delisle, "Mémoire de l'école calligraphique de Tours," in *Mém. de l'Inst. Acad. des Inscr.*, XXXII (1885), I pp. 39 ff.; Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhandl.*, vol. III, p. 233. For specimens of the script of *T*, see Chatelain, *Palaeogr. Class. lat.*, pl. LXVII; C. G. Mueller, *De codicibus Vergilii*, pl. iii, iv; *Trans. Palaeogr. Soc.*, Ser. 2, 1, pl. xii; Steffens, *Lat. Palaeogr.* pl. lv. For date of script of this codex, see E. K. Rand, "Is Donatus's Commentary on Vergil Lost?" *Class. Quart.*, X (1916), p. 163, n. 1 (c. 820); Rand and Howe, "The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours," *Mem. Am. Acad.* I (1917), pp. 19-58.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been the same Berno who on f. 36b (= third hand, see *infra*, p. 19, n. 4) has a note on *Geor.* 3, 147, using apparently his own name to exemplify a grammatical rule, just as the fifth scholiast (see *infra*, p. 106, n. 5) uses the name Liudramnus in a note on *Aen.* 9, 593 (referred to by the note in the Berne scholia to *Geor.* 3, 147): The name Remigius is thus used for illustration in a commentary apparently by Remigius of Auxerre on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius; see Rand, "Johannes Scottus," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, Band 1, Heft 2, p. 90. Is this the Berno to whom Thomas Scotus (perhaps the "*praeceptor palatii*" mentioned in Walafrid Strabo, *Carm.* 36, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Poet. Lat. Aev. Carol.*, II, p. 387) sent a *ludus* for solution? See Manitius, "Zur Karolingische Literatur" in *Neues Archiv*, XXXVI (1910), pp. 68-72. One MS., *Paris. lat.* 7899, s. IX, contains a solution of the *ludus* with the inscription: *Berno istos composuit versus*. I owe this reference to Manitius. If this is a clue to the identification of our Berno, it may be well to bear it in mind when we deal with another Scotus later.

Beati Martini levita,' who donates the codex to the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, stipulating, however, that his cousin Arbertus should have the use of the book "*sub praetextu S. Martini.*"

Following the words of the donor, we have the *Carmen tetrasticon Ovidii* (*Anth. Lat.* Riese 2, vv. 1-4). *Ecl.* 1 begins on f. 2a. In the middle of the same page is a large ornate *T*, the first letter in *Tityre* occupying the space of 5 verses. The *Eclogues* end at f. 16a; ff. 16a to 53b contain the *Georgics*. In f. 54a is written a poem from the *Anth. Lat.* (Riese 634), beginning *Primus habet Lybicam . . . Turni necne finem*. From here on to f. 219b we have the *Aeneid* with the verses attributed to Ovid (*Anth. Lat.*, Riese 81) preceding each *carmen*. From f. 212a to the end the marginal commentary has become partly illegible owing to damage from water.

There are but few abbreviations in the text, and these are of the type known as suspensions, e.g. *b:* = *bus*; *q:* = *que*, and the ordinary suprascript stroke for final *m*. The regular suspension for final *us* is found in *succedimus*, f. 84 b. The only ligature to be met with is that for *nt* at the end of words, an easy one for a scribe who frequently employs the majuscule form of *n*. I notice an unusual suspension mark for final *tur*, *cernatur* on f. 152a. Possibly the symbol was altered by a corrector. It is not the regular 2-shaped mark found elsewhere in this manuscript,<sup>1</sup> but is more like the V sign that Lindsay (*Notae Latinae*, p. 374) finds in a Cologne manuscript (Cathedral Library, CVI) ascribed by him to Tours and to the time of Alcuin.

There are four other manuscripts which, in order to determine the character of scholia in *T*, it will be necessary to describe with some minuteness. They are: *Parisinus lat.* 7959 (*P*), *Parisinus lat.* 7930 (*E*), *Montepessulanus* 253 (*M*), *Bernensis* 363 (*B*).

*Parisinus* 7959 (*P*), according to Thilo (*praef.*, p. LXXXVIII), was written at the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century. Thomas (*Essai sur Servius*, p. 179) would ascribe it to the ninth century. The codex contains the complete Servian interpretation of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* with some additions either marginal

<sup>1</sup> I owe this as well as the information on the suspensions of *us* to Professor Lindsay. The substance of his observations on this MS. were conveyed to me through the kindness of Professor Rand.

or interlinear (occasionally even in the text) written at about the same period<sup>1</sup> as the Servian text itself. The writer of these supplementary notes seems to have taken his additional comment from a book containing scholia similar to those found in the Fleury codex.<sup>2</sup> *P* contains 31 quaternions and has 35 lines to the page. There are 252 folia; these are almost of square form.

Neither Thilo nor Thomas noticed that there were additional scholia to the fourth *Aeneid* in this manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Both these scholars were aware that certain *D* scholia were supplied in the margins of the comment on *Aen.* 7 to 12.<sup>4</sup> Other marginal annotations found in *P* have hitherto been ignored because of their seeming unimportance. I will describe them here, owing to the light which they throw on the provenance of the scholia of Daniel.

In the margin throughout the codex occur the letters *D*, *DM*, or *M*, for the most part with a word or two accompanying some form of these letters. These notes are written apparently by the same annotator who furnished the rest of the *D* scholia in this book. Sometimes the word or words which the letters referred to precede or follow (with a bracket to show that both words and letters form one note) are taken from the Servian text, so that we may infer that the scholiast has been reading and noting with interest the information detailed by Servius. Why should he add the mysterious letters? Sometimes the letters have a horizontal line drawn through them thus: *Ð*, *ÐM*.

At first blush they might seem to indicate signs of omission, *D*

<sup>1</sup> The script of this supplement to Servius is similar to that of one of the scholiasts of the Tours Virgil (*m.* 1 or *m.* 4).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the additional interlinear comment in *P* on *Aen.* 4, 207: *Bene nunc dixit in epulis est*, and the Fleury codex on the same place, Thilo, p. 501, 6 *app. crit.*; *P* on *Aen.*, 4, 213: *Nobilium: hic sermo, sic Numanus*, and p. 502. 28 *app. crit.* The Servian text in *P* is similar to that found in *Hamburg.* 52 and *Laurent. (Bibl. Sanct. Cruc.)* XXII, 1. See Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> There are *D* scholia in the Servian text to *Aen.* 4, 204 (= p. 500. 17-20); 207 (= p. 501. 15); 212 (= p. 502. 17-18); 213 (= p. 502. 26); 218 (= p. 504. 9-10); 228 (= p. 505. 19-20). Interlinear *D* Scholia are found on *Aen.* 4, 58 (= p. 473. 10-12); 207 (= p. 501. 6-7) and in the margin on *Aen.* 4, 144 (= p. 489. 28-p. 490. 2); 205 (= p. 500. 27-28); 206 (= p. 501. 3); on *Aen.* 8, 125 (= p. 216. 16-20); *Aen.* 10, 641 (= p. 366. 19-p. 367. 10, cf. Thomas, *Essai*, p. 181); *Aen.* 12, 408 (= p. 612. 15-21).

<sup>4</sup> Thilo, *praef.* p. LXXXIX; Thomas, *l. c.*



standing for *deest*, *DM* for *desunt multa*. The usual sign for this, however, is a minuscule *d* with *h* in the text to indicate where omitted words must be supplied.<sup>1</sup> The last mentioned letter does not occur in *P*: in fact the only other sign to be found in the text of this codex (without however, any accompanying marginal reference) has apparently to do with a reading which the corrector or annotator found to be different from that of his exemplar.<sup>2</sup> The letter used in this case is the unusual one, a Greek delta.

That the letter *D* stood for Donatus in the mind of the writer of the marginal notes is indicated by the fact that this letter is written in the margin of *P* (f. 123a) opposite the following Servian scholium on *Aen.* 3, 535 (p. 433, 3):

*Ipse latet: re vera procul intuentibus; unde est 'portusque patescit', nam secundum Donatum late patet non stat versus.*

The letters *DM*, found on f. 30a, conveyed a similar meaning (*Donatus Magister?*) to the same scholiast in reading the *S* note to *Geor.* 1, 198 (p. 177. 14):

*Nisi vis humana: possibilitas . . . aut certe multitudo, tamen verius est, ut vis quasi violentia sit in rebus, quae contra naturam vertuntur in melius: sic enim Donatus sensit, dicens: nisi violentia fiat naturae, omnia in deterius cadunt.*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For signs of omission, etc., cf. A.C. Clark, *Descent of Manuscripts*, Oxford (1918), pp. 34 ff. and Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXXVI, where signs similar to those in *P* are noticed as occurring in *Monac.* 6394. Judging from Thilo's excerpts, the scholia in this manuscript show affinities with certain notes in *T*. See *infra*, p. 142, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This exemplar as already noted (above, p. 98) had *D* scholia similar to those found in the Fleury manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *D* is found also opposite two *S* notes (on *Aen.* 10, 861; 11, 537) in which Terence is cited by Servius. This last verse of Virgil is cited by Donatus in his commentary on Terence (*Andr.* 3, 3, 7 Wessner). There is no possibility of identifying our annotator's *D* with Tiberius Claudius Donatus: nothing from his Virgilian commentary is found in *P*. For the *S* note on *vis*, cf. *D Aen.* 1, 270 (cf. Bede, *De Orthographia*, p. 293 K.); 1, 529; *DS ibid.* (a similar note in *T*); *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 3, 56; *S* (*Donatus*) *Aen.* 3, 242 (p. 384. 23); *DS Aen.* 4, 132; *D ibid.*; *S Aen.* 10, 857; *T Aen.* 10, 894 (p. 474, 17 *app. crit.*); *DS Aen.* 12, 396: *Corpus Glossarum latinorum*, V, p. 254. 7; Goetz, *Der Liber Glossarum*, p. 70; Ender, *Aelii Donati commentarii Vergiliani reliquiae*, Greifswald, 1910, p. 74.

That the book which the corrector used to supplement his *S* codex had a context similar to our *Servius auctus* and was not merely a book containing additions

That *P* held to the tradition of Donatus is indicated by the corrector's insertion in the Servian *Vita* after the word *Vergilio* (p. 1, 3 *app. crit.*) of the word *figulo*. See the life of Virgil by Aelius Donatus (*Vitae Vergilianae*, pp. 1, 2 Brummer) and all the other *vitae* which go back to Donatus as their source.<sup>1</sup>

*Parisinus lat.* 7930 (*E*). This is an eleventh century manuscript.<sup>2</sup> There are 200 folia,<sup>3</sup> containing the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* with numerous scholia to these poems. These marginal notes become distinctly fewer after the seventh book of the *Aeneid*.<sup>4</sup> F. 1a contains a life of Virgil taken from the two *Vitae Gudianae*<sup>5</sup> with some passages derived from the *Vita* by Aelius Donatus, which, too, is extant in this codex (f. 204a—f. 206a=f. 194a—f. 196a).<sup>6</sup> Following the life of Virgil, f. 1a, we have another, the *Vita Bernensis* (p. 66 Br.), a poem from the *Anthologia Latina* (Riese, 256), then an introduction to the *Eclogues* taken from Servius and the second *Vita Gudianae*. F. 1b—f. 15a contain the *Eclogues*; f. 15a—f. 47a, the *Georgics*; f. 57a—f. 194a, the *Aeneid*. Between the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* there is a *farrago* from various sources in the life and writings of Virgil derived from Servius, the *Vitae Gudianae* and the *Vita Philargyrii* (p. 39 Br.). On f. 194a are

to Servius, that it was, in a word, similar to the Fleury codex of Daniel is indicated by another marginal annotation. In f. 244a opposite an *S* note on *Aen.* 12, 87 (p. 583. 25) *P* has this note: *ego D*. In the context we find cited the corrupt passage from Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 3, 1, 64: *Ergo . . . conparem*. There are no extant *D* scholia on this line of Virgil. Did the annotator, having beside him a book similar to the Fleury codex, containing *DS* scholia, believe that he had substantially a Donatian book before his eyes? Donatus is according to the theory here followed the main source of Servius. Cf. H. J. Thomson, p. 57; Rand, *Class. Quart.*, x, p. 158.

<sup>1</sup> Brummer, p. 5. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 40. 16; 54. 4; 60. 5.

<sup>2</sup> So Thilo, *praef.* p. LXV; Thomas, *Essai sur Servius*, p. 118; Funaioli, *Rhein. Mus.* LXX (1915), p. 80; Vollmer, *P. Virgilii Maronis Ludi Libellus*, p. 23, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Funaioli states incorrectly that there are 210 folia in *P*. The folia are numbered 1 to 210, but on the top of f. 10a some one has wrongly written 20 instead of 10.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the scholia are due to one scribe nearly contemporary with the writer of the Virgilian text, if one can trust one's judgment in such matters; it is several years since the book was carefully studied by the present writer.

<sup>5</sup> Brummer, p. 60 f.

<sup>6</sup> Used by Brummer in his edition, p. 9 f.; I am using the revised pagination throughout this description.

two more poems from the *Anthologia Latina* (Riese 664, 672) followed by the life by Donatus just mentioned. F. 196b contains Servius's introduction to the *Eclogues* (pp. 1-4), followed by the *Moretum*,<sup>1</sup> and on f. 197a by a *Somnium Ovidii Nasonis* (*Amores*, 3, 5, 5 f.). On f. 197b we find some verses composed in the Middle Ages entitled *Altercatio Nani et Leporis*.<sup>2</sup> Then follow *De variis huius libri figuris*,<sup>3</sup> some notes on *Vesper* (cf. Huemer, *Vergilii Maronis grammatica opera*, pp. 112 f. and *Epistula Vergilii Maronis de cognitionibus nominum et verborum* (pp. 82 ff. H).<sup>4</sup> On f. 199b are various glosses, for the most part taken from Servius, or derived from some source like to that from which some of the scholia in *T* had their origin. F. 200a has an inscription showing that this codex was once in the possession of a certain Gerbert, perhaps the celebrated Pope Silvester II (999-1003):

Gerberti laudem replicat liber iste per orbem,  
quem solus nostris contulit armariis.

After this we read:

Karolus dux Aquitaniae 1469/K de Francia.

Now to the scholia. Thilo (*praef.* p. LXVI) states that he examined this manuscript "*sed festinanter*," and so what Thomas noticed (*Essai*, p. 118) escaped him, namely, that there are several *D* scholia to be found in the margin of the third, fourth and fifth books of the *Aeneid*. Besides this Thomas was impressed by the fact that the Servian scholia were not exactly as in the vulgate codices, but they were filled with interpolations, mythological and even Christian. Thomas's statement that the *D* scholia are confined to three books of the *Aeneid* is inexact. There are two *D* and two *DS* scholia to the sixth book.<sup>5</sup> In the seventh book there is one scholium<sup>6</sup> heretofore supposed to have been extant only in *T* and first edited by Daniel, followed by Thilo, from that

<sup>1</sup> Used by F. Vollmer, *Poetae latini minores*, vol. I, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Duemmler in *Neues Archiv*, X (1885), pp. 354-355.

<sup>3</sup> Funaioli (*l. c.*, p. 80) incorrectly evaluates these grammatical notes. There is more material here than that published by Hagen from the Fleury manuscript in the Appendix of his edition of the Berne Scholia (p. 985).

<sup>4</sup> This version is fuller than any furnished by the manuscripts of Huemer. Have we here some inedita of P. Vergilius Maro Grammaticus?

<sup>5</sup> *D Aen.* 6, 1 (p. 1, 9-p. 2, 4); 287 (p. 50, 19-25); *DS ibid.* (p. 50, 25-51. 9); *DS (= T)*, 289 (p. 51. 21-52. 12).

<sup>6</sup> *D Aen.* 7, 517 (p. 163, 17-22).

manuscript. The diction of the comment is slightly different from that in *T*; the substance is the same. There are a few *DS* scholia to the eighth book; in the ninth and following books there are no *D* or *DS* scholia as far as cursory survey could determine. The interpretations of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are derived from Servius with interpolations, some of which seem to be original with the scholiasts while others are derived from some glossed Virgil, such as might have been the prototype of *T* or of *Vaticanus Reginensis* 1495,<sup>1</sup> — a codex which shows decided influence of the commentary of Aelius Donatus, to judge from the extant fragments of that encyclopedic work.<sup>2</sup> Some notes on the *Georgics* are similar to those found elsewhere only in one manuscript, *Vaticanus* 3317.<sup>3</sup> A few valuable *scholia adespota* which have lain unobserved amid the numerous glosses of this manuscript will be cited later in connection with the possible source of some of the comments in *T*.

*Montepessulanus* 253 (*M*): This manuscript has been somewhat neglected by scholars, perhaps because of its comparative inaccessibility. Ribbeck, indeed, in the preface to the fourth volume of his edition of Virgil (p. vii), after an examination of the Virgilian text had been made for him by G. Benoit, concludes that *M* and *T* are closely related. A French scholar, A. Boucherie,<sup>4</sup> made, from the point of view of a student of the Romance languages, study of the scholia in *M* as well as of another Montpellier manuscript more important for his purpose.<sup>5</sup> The scholia to the *Aeneid* had not been studied to any appreciable extent, to judge at any rate from the silence of scholars in their regard, until the present writer some years ago made a rather hasty examination of them in Montpellier.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the additional notes to this manuscript, see Thilo, *Rhein. Mus.*, XIV (1859), pp. 542 ff.; *praef.*, vol. III, pp. vi–viii of his edition of Servius. This manuscript was one of those owned by Queen Christina, a heritage from Daniel.

<sup>2</sup> Funaioli, "Scholia Vaticana Reginensia ad Vergilium," in *Stud. ital. di fil. class.*, XXI (1915), p. 78 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragment d'un commentaire sur Virgile*, Montpellier, 1875.

<sup>5</sup> *Montepess.* 385. *M* was interesting to Boucherie only as far as it aided him in editing some of the scholia on the *Buc.* and *Geor.* found in the other manuscripts.

<sup>6</sup> As the library at the time I visited it (May, 1916) was open but two or three hours a day, I was unable to give this interesting manuscript all the attention I should have liked.



This manuscript is of the ninth or tenth century with scholia of about the same period or later.<sup>1</sup> It contains 219 folia. F. 1a is blank; f. 1b has the *Carmen Octavianian* (*Anth. Lat.* Riese 672);<sup>2</sup> on ff. 2b, 3a, 3b are written some *fabulae mythologicae*. Then follow the poems of Virgil with comments drawn from Philargyrius, Fulgentius, the *Mythographi Vaticani* and other sources. Some of the scholia of Daniel are extant here.<sup>3</sup> Some of the interpretations agree with those of one or more of the various scholiasts in *T*. A few of the *scholia adespota* hitherto unpublished, will be cited later in this study. The manuscript was certainly written in Northern France as Boucherie's analysis of the Romance elements in the Latin found here clearly shows.<sup>4</sup>

*Bernensis* 363 (*B*).<sup>5</sup> This codex was formerly in the possession of Bongars, probably from Daniel's bequest. It is a parchment quarto of the late ninth or early tenth century, written in Irish, not Anglo-Saxon script, as Hagen asserts in the preface to his reproduction of this important manuscript. There are 197 folia; f. 1b contains ex-

<sup>1</sup> Boucherie, *op. cit.*, p. 7, distinguished two hands in the marginal annotations on the earlier poems, one of the tenth and the other of the eleventh century.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar arrangement in *T*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *D Aen.* 1, 317 (= p. 115. 3-10); *Aen.* 4, 99 (= p. 481. 1 ff. = *T*). This manuscript as well as the two Paris codices 7959 and 7930 will have to be reckoned with by future editors of *Servius auctus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 7, 9, 13, 22; cf. Funaioli, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXX, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Codex Bernensis*, 363, *phototype editus, praefatus est Hermannus Hagen, Bernensis, Lugduni Batavorum*, 1897, p. 1. For a more extended study of the scholia of *B* on *Geor.* 1-100, see Thilo's Halle Program, 1866. The same scholar has noticed in the critical apparatus to his edition of *Servius*, vol. III, several slight discrepancies between *B* and the other vulgate books. Traube has discussed this manuscript in *Abhandlungen der Koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XIX (1892), pp. 348-353. He sees in it a copy of an older Irish codex. The *marginalia*, according to Traube, were copied from this exemplar which was extant at the time of Sedulius Scottus (fl. 850). This exemplar seems to have been written in N. Italy during the lifetime of Tado, Archbishop of Milan. That the manuscript is a copy of a still older codex seems to be substantiated by the corruptions in the Irish glosses; cf. Stern, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, IV (1902), pp. 178 ff. The Irish glosses are published in *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II, p. 235. For the provenance of this codex, see Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhandl.*, III (1920), p. 153; *Neues Archiv*, IV (1879), pp. 318 ff. A note on f. 43b: *Citrus, quod dicunt rustici cidra*, seems to point to France as the place where *B* was written; see Gottlieb, "Randbemerkungen des Codex Bernensis 363" in *Wiener Studien*, IX (1887), p. 159.

tracts from the fifth Book of Dioscorides; from f. 2a to f. 143a we find an abbreviated form of the vulgate Servius, with a few slight additions to the text. The rest of *B* is taken up with extracts from Horace's *Odes*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Bede's *History* and with some verses composed in the early middle ages. The *marginalia* of this manuscript need to be noticed especially, as they reflect the activity of Irish Continental School in the study of Virgil. The marginal notes occur only to the commentary of Servius: 'Sed' (= Sedulius Scottus) is found in the margin 225 times;<sup>1</sup> 'Ioh' (= Iohannes Scottus?) 53 times;<sup>2</sup> 'Sed et Ioh' together, 22 times; 'do', 'don' or 'donatus' are found in 9 places in all.<sup>3</sup>

## I. THE DIFFERENT HANDS ENGAGED IN ANNOTATING *T*

### 1. *The Eclogues and Georgics*

Some of the scholiasts who were engaged in annotating the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* also wrote comments to the *Aeneid*. Two of the six hands which I have distinguished in *T* wrote scholia to the earlier poems only: for this and other reasons connected with the tradition of the scholia, it will be more convenient to discuss the characteristics of the two sets of comments separately, without, however, running the danger of repetition.

*Hand 1.* The scribe who contributed the major and most valuable notes on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* (and later on the *Aeneid*) seems to have come first, too, in order of time; this is shown when two scholia are written close together, referring to the same verse.<sup>4</sup> The script, a typical Caroline minuscule, shows affinities to that of the school of Tours as illustrated by our manuscript. We find here the characteristic 'g' of that school, formed like figure 3; in fact the writing of this scholiast as a whole suggests the Tours scriptorium at its best period; the occasional majuscule or semi-uncial *N* of the text is found also in

<sup>1</sup> Hagen, *op. cit.*, *praef.*, pp. LII-LXV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. XLVIII-LI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XLIII.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.*, in a note (f. 2a) on *Tityrus*, *m.* 1 writes on the lines of the parchment; *m.* 2, between the lines which separate the marginal *Meliboëus* in rustic capitals from the beginning of the note by *m.* 1. In Plate I the note on *torrens* in the right margin = *m.* 1.

this hand as well as the ligature for *NT* at the end of words.<sup>1</sup> Hagen in his edition of the Berne Scholia has gathered together in the Appendix the most important of the notes to the earlier poems due to this scribe. The latter cites Servius, and uses Nonius and Macrobius extensively.

*Hand 2.* The second hand occurs only in the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. This scribe shows resemblances to the one just discussed. There are, however, several distinguishing features. He has more semi-uncial traits and even adopts some cursive peculiarities; occasionally we find Tironian notes. He has some *D* and *Scholia Bernensia* notes and shows influence of a tradition going back to Aelius Donatus.<sup>2</sup> He cites Servius in a note to *Geor.* 3, 564 (f. 43b).<sup>3</sup>

*Hand 3.* The scholia by this hand (see Plate I) are confined to the *Georgics* (*Geor.* 2, 187 to the end of the fourth book). He wrote seemingly for his own satisfaction — not for later students to read with any ease. His script is filled with cursive traits and has numerous Tironian notes. Everything shows haste and carelessness. We find here very many examples of the open *a*.<sup>4</sup> He comes later than the first, fourth, and perhaps the second scholiast.<sup>5</sup> There is an interesting note on *Geor.* 3, 147 (f. 36b) which apparently discloses the name of the scholiast himself.<sup>6</sup> If this is so, we may be able to determine the date of this annotator and thus furnish a *terminus ante quem* not only for the first two interpreters but for the text of *T* itself.

*Hand 4.* This hand (see Plate I, lower margin on *iuventus*) may be easily distinguished from the others by the frequent ligatures indulged

<sup>1</sup> There are the usual suspensions: T with the sign *z* = *tur*. This sign of suspension in the form of V is found in the text in one place only, to the best of my knowledge, apparently altered by a corrector; *supra*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, pp. 133–135. The note on *rasile* on the left margin of Plate I = *m.* 2.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Funaioli, *Rev. ind.-gr.* III, p. 215, for this note. See *infra*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Greek and Roman Paleography*, p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Evidence of this may be had from ff. 32b (see Plate I, vv. 445, 463) and 43b.

<sup>6</sup> Sic enim dicimus, est mihi nomen Bernoni, est mihi nomen Bernonis, est mihi nomen Berno. (So Hagen, *Schol. Bern.*, app. p. 994, *app. crit.*). Funaioli, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXX, p. 68, conjectures that this is the same Berno who, as already noted, presented this manuscript to the monastery of Tours. That he lived in France is indicated by the gloss on *Geor.* 2, 446: *Rates rustice dicitur reth* (see Plate I). This was noted by Funaioli in the same article, citing Foerster, *Zeitschr. f. röm. Phil.*, I (1877), p. 561. Cf. *supra*, p. 96, n. 3.

in by this scholiast. In general the script is cramped compared to the easy flow of the first and especially of the sixth hand, which we shall meet in the *Aeneid*. Only once in the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* does this scholiast name his authority. In this case he illustrates a word found in Servius by a definition which has its source in Festus Paulus.<sup>1</sup> His scholia show familiarity with Servius, the Berne Scholia, Nonius and Macrobius.<sup>2</sup>

*Hand 5.* This scholiast inserted his notes after those of the third hand. From the few scholia written by the fourth and fifth hands on the earlier poems it cannot be determined, at least in these poems, which is prior in point of time. In his notes on the *Aeneid*, however, the fifth scholiast seems to have come later, to judge from one instance of crowding due to the priority of the fourth hand.<sup>3</sup> He is also later than either the first or sixth hands.<sup>4</sup> The fifth hand is the Tironian hand *par excellence*. He cites *quidam critici* on *Ecl.* 1, 43 (= p. 987, *SB app.*, Hagen.) and Solinus in a note on *Ecl.* 1, 67 (= p. 988, *ibid.*). The *Georgics* were not annotated by this scholiast. His identity is perhaps disclosed by the note on *Aen.* 9, 593 (f. 170a).<sup>5</sup>

## 2. The *Aeneid*

Of the five scholiasts on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, three were engaged also in annotating the *Aeneid*. These are the first, fourth and fifth hands.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>3</sup> F. 68a on *Aen.* 2, 83.

<sup>4</sup> See Plate II where the note of this hand on *laena* (v. 262) is out of place.

<sup>5</sup> Est mihi cognomen liudramno, est mihi cognomen liudramnus, et est mihi cognomen liudramni dicimus: per nominativum, genitivum et dativum, sed melius per dativum.

For Liudramnus, see *Mon. Ger. Hist., Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, p. 13, where Litramnus is the 100th name in the list of *nomina fratrum de Turonis* after Fridegisis, abbot of Tours from 804-832. Cf. also "Das Gallische Verbrüderungsbuch und das Gallische Buch der Gelübde" in *Mitteilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte*, vol. 19, 1884, p. 7; E. K. Rand and G. Howe, *Mem. Am. Acad.*, I (1917), pp. 26 ff. According to the argument presented in this latter work, the *floruit* of Liudramnus (Litramnus) would fall between that of the scribes of the Vatican Livy and that of the famous calligraphist Adalboldus, c. 820 and later. See S. Berger, *L'Histoire du Vulgate*, 1893, pp. 243 ff. The *Turonensis*, therefore, might have been written under the régime of Alcuin or not much later.



*Hand 6.* This scholiast busied himself with the *Aeneid* alone. The features which distinguished this hand from the first are few but easily ascertainable: the sixth scholiast has a more pointed style, though both possess the characteristics that belong to the Caroline minuscule at its best period. The "g" of the school of Tours is just as evident here as in the case of the first hand. Thilo distinguished the two hands in the places where two notes are written on the same verse. Though not as recent as the fifth annotator — as is shown by the crowded condition of the latter's notes (*cf.* f. 206b on *Aen.* 12, 118. See Plate III) when another has been written on the same lemma by the sixth hand — this annotator wrote his interpretations later than those of the first hand, for he occasionally supplements the latter when this scholiast has either omitted part of or abbreviated his *D* or *DS* note.<sup>1</sup>

Before we note the ancient commentators cited by each scholiast on the *Aeneid* it should be borne in mind that the actual transcripts from the vulgate Servius by all the scholiasts except the fifth (the Tironian) hand are few and far between. The aim of all (but one) of the annotators of *T*, then, is to supplement Servius, as will be seen from the instances which follow.

*Servius.* Servius is mentioned nine times by the first hand: on *Aen.* 3, 537 (f. 89a); 552 (f. 89a); 4, 484 (f. 100a); 521 (f. 101a); 694 (f. 103b); *Aen.* 5, 10 (f. 104b); 458 (f. 111b); 11, 131 and 134 (f. 191a).<sup>2</sup> Five of these scholia begin with this formula: *Praeter (hoc) quod Servius dicit*. One has the wording: *Praeter sensum Servii, quidam dicunt*. Twice we find the words: *Ut etiam Servius dicit*, and once, the phrase: *Et hoc est quod dicit Servius*. In two scholia the name of Donatus (*i.e.* Aelius Donatus) is mentioned. Here the scholiast merely repeats what he finds in the *S* scholium.<sup>3</sup> Donatus is again cited in notes to *Aen.* 3, 466 (f. 87b); 4, 651 (f. 103b). This however,

<sup>1</sup> Ff. 96b (see Plate II), 97a, on *Aen.* 4, 262 (p. 512. 11); 301 (p. 517. 22). Thilo himself noted that there were two hands engaged in the scholium on *Aen.* 12, 661. See *app. crit.* here and on *Aen.* 4, 228. Thilo also recognised two hands in his *app. crit.* on *Aen.* 4, 262 and 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* *app. crit.* in Thilo I, pp. 433. 12; 436. 27; 552. 13 (*cf.* Baehrens, *Studia Serviana*, pp. 98, 99); 559. 10; 582. 12; 589. 20; 627. 26; II, pp. 491. 27; 492. 8. See also his *Preface*, p. LXIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Thilo, II, pp. 442. 21; 562. 16 *app. crit.*

refers to the rhetorical comment of Tiberius Claudius Donatus (I, p. 326. 16 and p. 414.4 Georgii).<sup>1</sup>

The fourth hand cites Servius twice; in one case (f. 144a on *Aen.* 7, 612) he uses the formula *Praeter quod Servius dicit, quidam dicunt*. This valuable scholium is found only in *T.* Daniel did not receive it into his text but instead sent it to Scaliger for use in his edition of Festus.<sup>2</sup> Another scholium of some value, hitherto unedited, on *Aen.* 1, 458 (f. 61b) has the formula *Quidam . . . sed Servius*.<sup>3</sup>

The fifth scholiast cites Donatus (*i.e.* Aelius Donatus) and Servius several times. Twice in the first book and once in the fourth book the former commentator is mentioned. It may be well to give these scholia in full here, inasmuch as the problem in hand may find a focus in the notes of this annotator. This, in fact, is the only scholiast who cites both Aelius Donatus and Servius; the others are aware of a non-Servian tradition without, however, any single author as responsible for any part of it other than the two instances, just noted, where the first scholiast finds Donatus mentioned in Servius, and the other, by the same hand, where the Donatus cited is not our commentator.

The following are the citations of Donatus by the fifth hand :

*Aen.* 1, 179 (f. 57a): Donatus dicit hysteronproteron esse, id est ordinem permutatum. primum enim frangitur frumentum mola, deinde torretur, *i.e.* quoquitur (*sic*): sed servius dicit non esse ita, nam primum siccaverunt frumentum, deinde moluerunt.<sup>4</sup>

*Aen.* 1, 559 (f. 63b): Hic non est pleonasmus sicut donatus dicit, quia possunt et aliae (armis, ss.) res fremere.<sup>5</sup>

*Aen.* 4, 207 (f. 95b); Leneus dicitur non a leniendo sicut donatus dicit, sed apotis lenu, id est a lacu in quo premitur.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These scholia were not noted by Thilo.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *app. crit.* in Thilo, II, p. 172. 25. It should be noted that this same scholiast seems to have had access to Festus Paulus in a note given below, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> See Thilo, *praef.*, p. xv n. 1. He does not, however, specify the hand. Cf. Lammert, "De Hieronymo Donati discipulo," (*Comm. Phil. Ien.*, IX, 2), pp. 42, 50. Wessner, *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1921, p. 189; Rand, *Class. Quart.*, X (1916), p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Not printed by Thilo.

<sup>6</sup> Thilo has this in his *app. crit.*, p. 501. 2, without distinguishing the hands. See also Wessner, *l. c.*, p. 187; Thomson, *Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries*, p. 58; Lammert, *l. c.*, p. 42.

Servius is mentioned as the sole authority for the following scholia:

*Aen.* 1, 292 (f. 59a): Licet de remo et romulo hoc possit intelligi, tamen de octaviano et agrippa @ intelligitur, sicut servius refert.<sup>1</sup>

*Aen.* 6, 14 (f. 119a): Invenies apud servium huius loci fabulam maxime plenissime digestam.<sup>2</sup>

*Aen.* 6, 435 (126a): Servius dicit quod homerus narrat quomodo ulixes ad infernum descenderet et introducit ibi achillem cum eo loquentem et dicentem quod melius vellet apud superos mendicare quam apud inferos regnare.<sup>3</sup>

*Aen.* 12, 115 (f. 206b): Dicunt quidam quod flatus equorum solis lucem afferat diei. servius autem dicit nusquam virgilium tam pompatice scripsisse ortum diei sicut hic.

The sixth scholiast cites Servius in three places: on *Aen.* 5, 30 (f. 104a): Quidam, praeter quod servius, dicunt . . .; on *Aen.* 11, 743, p. 561. 22 (f. 201b): Praeter historiam illam quam de caesare hoc loco memorat servius, aliam etiam invenimus . . .; on *Aen.* 12, 118, p. 587. 24 (f. 206b): Communes dii, praeter hoc quod servius intellegit, possunt accipi . . . (see Plate III).

## II. SCHOLIA TURONENSIA ON THE *ECLOGUES* AND THE *GEORGICS*<sup>4</sup>

The scholia in the following collection are for the most part by the first hand: there are several notes by the fourth hand which, owing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *S* p. 108. 6 f. This scholium was not printed by Thilo. The sign @ stands for a Tironian note.

<sup>2</sup> Not printed by Thilo. Cf. *DS* p. 5. 22 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thilo, *app. crit.*, p. 66. 18, where the hand is not distinguished.

<sup>4</sup> I use the following abbreviations: *A* = Appendix II of Hagen's Berne Scholia. *SB* = *Scholia Bernensia*. *BE* = *Brevis Expositio*. *E* = *Explanations in Bucolica*. *D* = additional scholia first edited by Daniel. *DS* = the Servian scholia with interpolations as edited by Daniel. *S* = Servius. *H* = *T* scholia found in *app. crit.* of Hagen's edition of the Berne Scholia. *R* = additional notes of *Regin.* 1495 on *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, printed in Thilo's *app. crit.* *Vat.* = scholia in *Vaticanus* 3317 on *Geor.* 1, 280 ff., first edited by Orsinus. *LG* = *Liber Glossarum*, excerpts of which are printed in Goetz, *C.G.L.* V, pp. 161-255, with additions by Thomson, *Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries*, pp. 62-154. *V* = Virgilian line as cited by Nonius. † = those scholia which have not been printed by Hagen in the *app.*

to the careful script of these two scholiasts — as distinguished from the other three hands — and to the general similarity in character of their scholia, it was thought advisable not to treat separately.<sup>1</sup> A few of these, however, will be dealt with later in a section analysing the contents of the various hands other than the first. It will be noticed that there are some *inedita* in this list, though they are not all of equal value.

The interpretations taken from Nonius in the following selected list are interesting for two reasons: first, because of the attitude of the scholiasts towards Nonius as the authority for their statements; and second, for the light these scholia throw on the tradition of the manuscripts of that compiler. The scholiast had a high opinion of Nonius, judging from the expressions on *Ecl.* 9, 43: *quidam . . . non indocti . . .* (cf. Non. 465.7) and on *Geor.* 3, 458: *alii non minoris auctoritatis . . .* (cf. Non. 46.19).<sup>2</sup> An indication that the Tours manuscript of Nonius (now at Leyden) was the exemplar used in these citations is given by the readings from that codex on *Geor.* 4, 168 (*vetera* for *veterina*); on *Geor.* 4, 247, where *sint levis* is found in both the Leyden and the Harleian manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

That the first scholiast contributed also some of the so-called Berne scholia to the *Aeneid* is indicated by his note on *Geor.* 4, 452 with its reference to *Aen.* 4, 281 where the comment of our scholiast is an exact rendering of the *SB* reference and where there is no extant *S* or *D* note.

*crit.* or appendix of *SB*, nor by Funaioli, *Riv. ind.-gr.* III (1919-1920), pp. 49-66, 212-218. *F* = scholia published by Funaioli. I have starred (\*) those published or unpublished scholia which seem to point to Donatus as their source.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the most important scholia of *m.* 4 included in the following list are those on *Ecl.* 4, 7; 5, *praef.*; 8, *praef.*; 8, 65 (*Adole*); *Geor.* 1, 415; 4, 1 (2 notes); 4, 89. This scholiast dealt not only with unusual words in Virgil, but endeavored at times in his short prefatory notes to give a clearer idea of the general purport of some of the poems.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, pp. 115 and 125.

<sup>3</sup> Nonius was also utilized by the same scholiasts in their notes on the *Aeneid* (cf. *infra*, p. 141) as Thilo observed. Neither Hagen nor Funaioli have laid much stress on Nonius as a source for the scholia edited by them; many evident borrowings from Nonius have passed unnoticed. The fourth scholiast used a similar exemplar for his citations from Nonius; *infra*, p. 139.



The connection between the Servian Scholia in the *Turonensis* and those found in two other codices often cited in the following selected list, *Reginensis* 1495 (= *R*) and *Parisinus lat.* 7959 (= *P*), is shown by the erroneous reading in the note on *Ecl.* 2, 29 below.

(a) *Eclogues*

†*Ecl.* 1, 68: Culmen: culmen a tegendo dictum quia quulmine cooperiebant tecta sua. Cf. *R* p. 15.14, *E* p. 29.5, *DS Ecl.* 5, 32, *D Aen.* 2, 290, Don. *Ars Gram.*, p. 400.6 K.<sup>1</sup>

*Ecl.* 2, *Praef.* = *SB* abbreviated.

24. Amphion: = *SB*, two notes of which are combined into one.

29. Figere cervos: very similar to *S* with incorrect reading *maculari* of *Paris.* 7959 (*P*)<sup>2</sup> and *Regin.* 1495 (*R*).

*Ecl.* 3, 77. Faciam vitula: = *A* p. 988 = Non. 14.15.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Non. 313.30, *R* p. 39.25.

105. Caeli spatium: quidam intellegunt, quod et servius . . . alii sepulchrum caelii, quod et servius . . . = *A* p. 988 = *F.* Cf. *E* p. 68.4 *S* p. 42.4.

*Ecl.* 4, 7. Nova progenies: quaeritur de quo filio pollionis ista dicuntur, de gallo an salonino. gallum enim constat natum designato pollione, saloninus vero iam ipso consule . . . = *H* p. 777. Cf. *SB* *ibid.*,<sup>4</sup> *S* p. 44.7.

18. Nullo cultu: nullo extrinsecus operante. = *F.* Cf. *SB* p. 778, *D* p. 47.23.

19. Bacchare: ut quidam . . . sed servius aliter dicit. = *A* p. 998 = *F.* Cf. *C.G.L.* IV 25.15 ('Abstrusa Glossary'),<sup>5</sup> *SB* p. 779, *E* p. 80.2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Lammert, "De Hieronymo Donati discipulo," in *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses* IX, 2 (1912) p. 13, Funaioli, "Le fonti della silloge scoliastica Filargiriana," in *Rivista di Filologia classica*, XLVIII (1920), p. 455, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> I have discussed this manuscript above in connection with its marginal glosses referring apparently to Donatus.

<sup>3</sup> So Hagen. The edition of Nonius is that of Lindsay, *Nonii Marcelli de compendiosa doctrina*, Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> *SB* has nothing on the age of Pollio's sons.

<sup>5</sup> Thomson, *Journal of Philology* XXXV (1920), pp. 257 ff., deals with the probability that many items now in the *Liber Glossarum* formerly belonged to a fuller *Abstrusa Glossary*. The part dealing with Virgil he has attempted to reconstruct in that work to which I shall refer so often, "Fragments of Ancient Scholia

20. Colocasia: herba apud alexandrinus vasta radice apta. Cf. *SB* p. 779.

38. Vector: vector dicitur qui vehit et qui vehitur. = *F* = *D* p. 50. 21. Cf. *Isid. Orig.* 10, 281.

46. Currite: = *A* = *F* = *R* p. 58.10.<sup>1</sup>

47. Stabili: immutabili, permanenti: fatis enim omnia pervenire mortalibus antiqui dicebant potestate divinitate. stabili autem et concordēs dixit quia quod una dux dixerit, sequuntur aliae. Et fixa sunt statuta fatorum. = *F*. Cf. *S* p. 51.12, *R* p. 51.9 and 12.

48. Adgredere: incipe evadere ad summum fastigium honoris. = *F*. Cf. *SB* p. 781.<sup>2</sup>

*Ecl.* 5. *praef.*: allegorice vero poeta vergilius flaccum fratrem suum coram aemilio poeta, vergilii amantissimo deflet. . . = *H* p. 783. Cf. Aelii Donati vita Vergilii, v. 44 Br.<sup>3</sup>

†24. Egere: Duxere minavere, si quidem agere est minare. = *R* p. 57.21.

†44. Formosi pecoris: duplex laus quod non solum formosus fuerit ipse, sed etiam formosum habuerit pecus. Cf. *R* p. 59.14.

*Ecl.* 6. 16. Procul: prope. = *SB* p. 795. Cf. *DS* p. 67.15, *D Aen.* 4, 42, *DS Aen.* 6, 10, *S Aen.* 10, 835, Don. *Hec.* 4, 3, 1 (2).<sup>4</sup>

21. Videnti: vigilantī, iam excitato. = *F* = *R* p. 67.30, *D* p. 68.1, *SB* p. 796, *E* p. 109.9, Don. *Eun.* 1, 1, 28 (3).<sup>5</sup>

29. Parnasia rupes: quia duo capita videtur habere cum sit divisus. = *F*. Cf. *S Aen.* 7, 641, *DS Aen.* 10, 163.

†42. Caucaseasque refert v. f. p.: histeronproteron. Cf. *D* p. 73.9.<sup>6</sup>

on Virgil preserved in Latin Glossaries," in *Anc. Lore on Med. Lat. Gloss.* (with W. M. Lindsay). Thomson's excellent work has furnished me with many interesting parallels throughout this paper.

<sup>1</sup> The scholiast adds: sed hoc frivolum videtur. The additional notes in *R*, to judge from this instance, are not derived from those in *T*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note of this hand on *Aen.* 2, 165, *infra*, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> The notation is that of Wessner, *Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti*, Leipzig, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Barwick, "De Iunio Filargirio Vergili interprete," in *Commentationes Philologiae Ienenses*, VIII, 2, p. 121; Georgii, *Die Antike Aeneiskritik*, p. 238.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Legendre, "Études tironiennes; commentaire sur la vi<sup>e</sup> Éclogue de Virgile tiré d'un manuscrit de Chartres," *Bibl. de l'école d. haut. ét.*, vol. 165, p. 14.

†47. Cepit: aut re vera cepit aut decepit. Cf. *S Geor.* 1, 426, *D Aen.* 2, 314, Non. 25.24.

53. Fultus hyacintho: latus niveum fultum habens molli iacinto, et hoc figurate. = *F.* Cf. *SB* p. 800, *E* p. 117, 16, *D* p. 75.10, *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 8, 368.

†54. Illice nigra: . . . aut re vera nigra vel umbrosa. Pallentes herbas: aut aridus aut cum viriditate amissa transeunt in decoctionem stomachi. Cf. *S* p. 75.14 and 18.

59. Captum: deceptum vel delectatum = *F.* Cf. *SB* p. 800, *S* and *DS* (= *T*) *Aen.* 8, 311.<sup>1</sup>

†70. Ascraeo: ascraeus de ascriba poeta et calamis peritissimus cum iam per aetatem senesceret in eliconem montem subiit, ibique musis coronam cum floribus et frondibus accepit (et calamos, *ss*), qua induta capita iuvenis factus est. Cf. *DS* p. 77.30, *SB* on v. 65.<sup>2</sup>

77. Timidos: epitionum proprium nautarum, ut timidi vocentur. = *F.* Cf. *D* p. 80.17.

79. Dona: dona pro ultione hic posuit, cum proprie donum est quod exhibetur diis propitiandis. = *F.* Cf. Non. 528.13, *D Aen.* 2, 269; 2, 31, Don. *Eun.* 5, 8, 27 (2), Isid. *Orig.* 6, 19, 26, *C.G.L.* IV, 121.34 (*Abstr.*).<sup>3</sup>

83. Eurotas: . . . = *SB* p. 805. Cf. *LG* (Thomson, pp. 70, 158).

†*Ecl.* 7, 12: Praetexit: adornat. metonymicos, per id efficit id quod efficitur. Cf. *R* p. 84.1, *D ibid.*

17. Seria: negotia, rem utilem. = *F.* Cf. *SB* p. 808,<sup>4</sup> *LG* 244.21: Seria necessaria, gravia, ut Donatus; Gloss. cod. Medic. (*Rhein. Mus.*, XLV, p. 672 Ihm).

Seria: serium dicitur quasi sine risu. = *F* = Non. 33.28, *C.G.L.* V, 651.34 (Gloss. Non.).

42. Rusco: ruscus est frutici genus, spinosum amaro cortice, quem quidam . . . cetera. = *A* p. 989 = *F.* Cf. *R* p. 89.7, *D ibid.*, *LG* 241.16; 242.2.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *BS* note has a reference to this verse of the *Aeneid*.

<sup>2</sup> Funaioli, *Riv. ind.-gr.*, IV (1920), p. 10, points out that *T* is nearer the original in placing this scholium at v. 70.

<sup>3</sup> On a possible Insular *variorum* commentary as a source for the *Abstrusa* glosses, see Lindsay, *Class. Quart.*, XI (1917), p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *SB* (corrupt) with Suetonius, *Verb. Diff.*, p. 289 Reiff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 71.

53. Stant: abundant et plena sunt. = *F*. Cf. *S* p. 90.10, *SB* p. 812, Non. 392.1, *D Aen.* 1 646, Don. *Andr.* 4, 2, 16 (2).

61. Populus: legitur quod hercules . . . inferos. = *F* = *SB* p. 813. Cf. *E* p. 139.10.

Alcide: alcidae autem patronimicum est a matre. = *F* = *R* p. 91.1.

*Ecl.* 8 *praef.*: in hac eglogo . . . puerum amat. = *SB* p. 814. Cf. *E* p. 141.1.<sup>1</sup>

†16. Incumbens: innitens veluti amator post tristia. Cf. *D.* p. 94.17, *SB* p. 817.

†\*17. Age: adduc et fac effeta.<sup>2</sup>

Almum: tribus modis accipitur almus, aut enim splendidum ut hic . . . aut sanctum, quod in nostris litteris invenitur. = *A* p. 989 = *F*. Cf. *SB* p. 817 (Iunilius).

29. Uxor: uxor dicitur quasi unxor, quia prima limina ostiorum oleo perfundebant primo factae nuptae. = *A* p. 989 = *F*. Cf. *DS Aen.* 4, 458 (p. 546.14 f.), *S Aen.* 6, 219, Don. *Hec.* 1, 2, 60 (3).

Parvus: pauper. . . = *SB* p. 810 (without 'Iunilius dicit').

65. Verbenas: verbenae species herbae . . . dicuntur. = *A* p. 989 = *F*. Cf. besides *Isid. Orig.* 12, 120, cited by Hagen, *D* p. 103.1, *E* p. 158.7, *SB* p. 822 (ut Terentius et Iunilius dicunt), Don. *Andr.* 4, 3, 11 (7), *DS Aen.* 12, 120.<sup>3</sup>

Adole: in hoc loco 'auge' et 'cumula' . . . alii 'incendi' accipiunt et 'verbenas' carnes pingues et recentes, quamvis et omnes virides

<sup>1</sup> In *T* we find: . . . appellatur autem haec egloga pharmaceutria, in qua ut diximus, duae personae introducuntur. . . . In the other manuscripts of *SB* this Eclogue is called *φάρμακίς*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in this scholium we may find traces of a *variorum* commentary (by Donatus?). Cf. *LG* 219.10: Lucifer genere neutro dicitur, ut Donatus, and *SB*: age: adduc, vehe, quia metiris diei tempora (so Hagen, but the scholium is corrupt: perhaps we should read: . . . *quia mariti diei tempora*), agere enim pastoris qui pecus minat dictum est. Cf. *supra* on 5, 24, *D Aen.* 4, 245, *infra* on *Ecl.* 9, 24, Don. *Ad.* 3, 2, 21 (3). *Dies*, however, is feminine when it means "time." Cf. *DS Aen.* 2, 554, *D Aen.* 2, 324, *DS Aen.* 5, 783, 10, 425 (= *T*); Lammert, p. 34, Thomson, pp. 57-58 and *Jour. Phil.* XXXV (1920), p. 282, who noticed the fact that *Explan.* II, p. 147.5 has the lemma: *proveniens Lucifer almum*. In *T* there is no lemma but the interpretation *almum: splendidum* may refer to either *dies* or to *Lucifer*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *Riv. ind.-gr.*, IV (1920), p. 11.



possunt verbenae dici. = *A* p. 989 = *F*. Cf. Non. 247.34 (V), *S* and *Vat.*<sup>1</sup> *Geor.* 4, 378, *DS Aen.* 1, 704, *Vat. Geor.* 2, 362.

88. Ulva: = *A* p. 989 = *F*. Cf. *Isid. Orig.* 17, 9, 100.

91. Exuvias = *F* = *SB* p. 825. Cf. *LG* (Thomson, p. 72), *Fest. P.* 81.1.<sup>2</sup>

†103. Aggrediar: insequar, conabor, decipere. Cf. *DS Aen.* 4, 92, *Don. Hec.* 5, 1, 5.<sup>3</sup>

105. Altaria: = *SB* p. 826. Cf. *D* p. 107.26.

Aspice: = *F* = *SB* p. 826. Cf. *D* p. 107.22.

†*Ecl.* 9, 4. Coloni: dicendo coloni argumentum fecit doloris. Cf. *SB* p. 828.

7. Subducere: adtollere et erigere et sursum elevare quidam intellegunt. = *F*. Cf. *D* p. 109.27, Non. 399.31, *SB* p. 828.

†24. Age: mina. Cf. *R* p. 112.21.<sup>4</sup>

43. Insani: quidam . . . non indocti . . . fluctus = *A* p. 989 = *F*. Cf. Non. 465.7.

53. Oblita: s. sunt, id est a me, passive. Cf. *D* p. 116.19, *R* p. *ibid.*

†59. Adeo: certe vel ornamento ponitur. Cf. *DS Geor.* 1, 24, *Aen.* 4, 96, *Vat. Geor.* 2, 322, *S Geor.* 1, 287, *Aen.* 8, 585; 7, 427, 629, *Don. Andr.* 3, 3, 47 (2), *Eun.* 1, 2, 124, 5, 2, 41; 5, 3, 21 (3); *Hec.* 4, 1, 9 (3), *Ad.* 1, 1, 15 (5).

*Ecl.* 10, 7. Attendent: pascuntur. = *SB* p. 833. Cf. *schol. cod. Medic.* p. 633 (Ihm).

†12. Aganippe: fons boetiae quae et Aonia dicitur. = *S* p. 120.19.<sup>5</sup>

†19. Opilio: proprie pastorum vel hyrcorum. Cf. *DS* p. 122.16, *SB* p. 834 (Iunilius), *Praef. Donat.* p. 741.49, *Isid. Orig.* 10, 200.<sup>6</sup>

†Subulci: proprie pastor porcorum. Cf. *D* p. 122.22, *R* p. 122.21, *Isid. Orig.* 10, 263.<sup>7</sup>

†23. Nives: vel hiemem vel alpes intellege. Cf. *R* p. 123.6.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is *Valicanus* 3317 containing additional scholia to the *Georgics* first published by Orsini (1587) and included in Thilo's edition. See above, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *Riv. di Filol. class.*, XLVIII (1920), p. 466, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra* on *Ecl.* 4, 48 and *infra* on *Aen.* 2, 165. <sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra* on *Ecl.* 8, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. fons Thraciae. Iunilius dicit (incorrectly) *SB*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. Homeyer, *De scholiis Verg. Isid. font.* (1913), p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 72, who cites *LG* 246.25.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lindsay, "The Festus-Glosses of the Abolita Glossary" in *Anc. Lore in Med. Lat. Gloss.* (1921), p. 33: Alpes: nives.

†30. Nec cytiso saturantur: rusticas ponit similitudines et amatorias: hyperbolice dicuntur. Cf. *R Ecl.* 1, 69 p. 16.1, *S Ecl.* 1, 29, p. 9.16; 2, 24, p. 22. 6.<sup>1</sup>

63. Concedite: discedite quia non mihi placetis. = *F.* Cf. *D* p. 126. 10, *SB* p. 837.

†71. Hibisco: genus est virgulti, instat silvaticae saitibus unde fiunt squali (sic). Cf. *R* 127.6, *SB* p. 837, *LG* 209.16-18.<sup>2</sup>

### (b) *Georgics*

*Geo.* I 1. Segetes: = *A* 989. Cf. *SB* p. 842 (Iunilius), *BE* p. 198.13, *S Aen.* 3, 142, 7, 526, Non. 395.9.

18. Tegeae: = *F* = *SB* p. 846. Cf. *D*, p. 135.4.

19. Uncique puer monstrator: . . . secundum quosdam propterea dicitur reticuisse nomen, quia non putabatur a quolibet ignorari. = *A* p. 990 = *F*.<sup>3</sup>

20. Silvanus: = *A* p. 990 = *F.* Cf. *D* p. 137.8, *D Aen.* 3, 680, *S Aen.* 3, 64; 6, 216.

†29. Venias: enfatice dixit venias. Cf. *BE* p. 208.18, *D* p. 139.3.<sup>4</sup>

37. Elysios: = *A* p. 990 = *F.* Cf. *Verg. Aen.* 6, 641.

†Dira: dirum dicitur quasi deorum ira inmissum. Cf. Non. 30.13.<sup>5</sup>

†41. Viae: id est rationis aut artis. Cf. *DS* p. 142.23, *SB* p. 849, *BE* p. 213.15, *D Geor.* 1, 122, *S Aen.* 3, 395; 6, 194, 367; 11, 128, *Geor.* 2, 22, *DS* (= *T*) *Aen.* 4, 477.

†42. Ingredere: incipe. Cf. *R* p. 142.26.

†43. Vere novo: incipiente vere. Cf. *SB* p. 849, *BE* p. 214.1, *DS* p. 142.29, *D Ecl.* 5, 67 (= *SB*), Don. *Ad.* 4, 7, 4 (4).

†\*47. Demum: vere, certe vel postremum. Cf. *LG* (Thomson, p. 74): Demum vel maxime vel postremo vel denique. Donatus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *St. Ital. di Fil. class.*, XXI (1915), pp. 75-76; Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The *T* scholium is fuller. Cf. S. Consoli, *Neologismi Botanici nei carmi Buc. Georg. di Verg.*, 1901, p. 9 f.

<sup>3</sup> This scholium has no similarity to anything found in *S* or *DS*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Lammerhirt, "De auctoribus a Servio allatis" (*Comm. Phil. Ien.* IV), p. 355.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *S Aen.* 2, 519; 12, 845, 846, *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 4, 453, *Isid. Orig.* 10, 75, *Diff. verb.* 141.

tamen 'vere' intellegit; *DS* p. 145.8: Demum autem novissime, vere specialiter; *S Aen.* 6 154.<sup>1</sup>

†52. Habitus: habitus ab habendo dicitur naturas. *Cf. DS* p. 146.9, *SB* p. 849.

†56. Nonne vides: hic sub exemplo ostendit quod prius generaliter posuerat. *Cf. DS* p. 146.20.<sup>2</sup>

57. Molles: delicati vel a mollicie vestimentorum dicti ita quidam intellegunt. = *F.* *Cf. D* p. 147.17, *SB* p. 850, *BE* p. 216.7.

58. Chalybes: = *SB* p. 850 (Iunilius), *BE* p. 216.10.

59. Eliadum: = *SB* p. 850 (Iunilius). *Cf. BE* p. 217.8.

66. Maturis: = *A* p. 990 = *F.* *Cf. BE* p. 218.4, *SB* p. 851, *D Aen.* 10, 257 (referred to by *BE*).

67. Arcturum: = *A* p. 990. *Cf. SB* p. 881, *BE* p. 218.10, *Vat.* p. 149.4 *app. crit.*

73. Farra: = *A* p. 990 = *F.* *Cf. Isid. Orig.* 17, 3, 5.

74. Siliqua: folliculo et tunicae leguminum. = *F.* *Cf. D* p. 151.6, *BE* p. 219.12.

Legumen: = *A* p. 990 = *F.* *Cf. S* p. 151.3, *BE* p. 219.11, *SB* p. 852.

†85. Crepitantibus: crepare est sonare. *Cf. D* p. 153.12, *SB* p. 853, *Non.* 255.5.

92. Tenuēs: frigidae vel penetrabilis = *F.* *Cf. Non.* 411.29; tenue: frigidum; *S* (= *SB*) p. 153.25: lentae et penetrabiles.

†Rapidi solis: velocis aut ardentis. duplex est intellectus, quia per se nocent pluviae; si accedit calor, duplex fit incommodum. *Cf. R* p. 154.1: fervidi et ardentis; *SB* (= *BE*) p. 853: velocis.

†93. Acrior: acrior ergo aut ultra solitum torrentior aestus et potentia solis aut acrior post pluvias, sicut solet aliquando contingere. *Cf. SB* p. 853: pro duobus vel uno; *BE* p. 221.13, *D* p. 154.3: acrior pro acris ut iam senior; *DS Aen.* 6, 304: senior aut pro positivo, id est senex, aut . . .; *Don. Hec. prol.* 2, 3 (2), *Eun. prol.* 4 (3), *Phorm.* 2, 3, 15 (4), *Don. Ars Gram.* 374.28 K.

†105. Ruit: evertit, dissipat vel complanat, active posuit. *Cf. S.* p. 158.20: evertit, dissipat; *Non.* 380.16: complanat.

110. Ciet: commovet. = *F.* *Cf. BE* p. 224.15: inritat vel commovet.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. Goetz, Der Liber Glossarum*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. supra* on v. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Barwick "De Iunio Filargirio Vergili interprete," in Comm. Phil. Ien., VIII, 2 (1909), pp. 76-77; C.G.L. IV, 33, 55 (Abstr.); Thomson, pp. 115, 176 (on*

†130. Iussit. precepit aut voluit primus. Cf. fifth hand on *Aen.* 2, 3, p. 146 *infra*.

†Moveri: = *R* p. 163.11, with this addition: sive a navigantibus ipsum pontum moveri. Cf. *SB* p. 856: moveri: navigari.

†131. Passim: habundanter vel ubique. = *R* p. 163.16. Cf. *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 12, 121, *D Ecl.* 7, 34.

†133. Extunderet: extorqueret et inveniret et studiose requireret. = Non. 102.14 and *S* (= *SB*) p. 163.19.

†146. Improbis: = *S* p. 166.16: vel magnus vel nulli probabilis, and *R ibid.*: perseverabilis et durus.<sup>1</sup>

†180. Fatiscat: fatiscere proprie aperire. = Non. 411.34.

†184. Cavis: aut in cavis vel in cavernis vel absolute posuit. Cf. *D* p. 174.15.

†192. Area: metonymicos pro hominibus qui terunt in area. Cf. *D* p. 176.10.

194. Nitrum: = *A* p. 990 = *F*. Cf. *Isid. Orig.* 16, 2, 7 (Nitrum . . . sale), *R* p. 176.22.<sup>2</sup>

197. Fatis: id est quibusdam decretis deorum vel eventibus. Cf. *R* 177.20, Non. 303.32.

†203. Atque: statim et celeriter. = Non. 503.5. Cf. *Gell.* 10, 29.4, *R* p. 178.6.<sup>3</sup>

†231. Tenent: occupant et cingunt. Cf. Non. 411.40, *S Aen.* 8, 653.

†235. Trahuntur: volvuntur, ducuntur. Cf. Non. 410.10, *D* p. 186.19.

†236. Atris: frigidis et nigris. Cf. Non. 242.24.

†\*238. Per ambas: sub ambas vel inter ambas. Cf. *S Aen.* 9, 416: Asper tamen dicit: 'per tempus utrumque,' hoc est inter tempus

*Aen.* 2, 419); *DS Aen.* 6, 468, *S Aen.* 12, 104 where there is the following marginal note in cod. *P*: < <sup>D</sup><sub>cio</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> That this scholiast used a codex containing Servian and additional scholia similar to those found in *Regin.* 1495 is shown by the fact that after the word *probabilis* of the vulgate Servian codices we have the phrase *et placitus vel perseverabilis et durus*, part of which is repeated by our scholiast. The second hand undoubtedly used such an exemplar of Servius, for instead of *rubra* (p. 167.11) both *R* and *m.* 2 have *rubicunda*.

<sup>2</sup> In this case *R* and our scholiast seem to have derived their material from a common source. Cf. also *Strab.* XVII, p. 803, *Steph. Byz.* s. v.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Georgii, l.c.*, p. 267.



utrumque,<sup>1</sup> *S Aen.* 7, 30 (Ter.),<sup>2</sup> *DS Aen.* 2, 681, *S Aen.* 8, 681; 9, 553.

†248. Obtena: obducta, opposita. *Cf. D* p. 189.1 (Ter.).

†253. Messisque diem: opportunum tempus metendi. *Cf. D* p. 189.21, *R ibid.*

†256. Parem annum: parem vel quod sint equalia quantitate vel in quibusdam rebus concordent et subaudiendum frustra speculamur. *Cf. DS* p. 190.7.

†261. Procudit: prolatur. = Non. 156.25 (V).

Maturare: = *A* 990-991 = *F.* *Cf. Macrob. Sat.* 6, 8, 8 and 11-12.

†262. Obtusi: reverberanti. *Cf. R* 191.14, *DS* p. 191.11, Don. *Andr.* 2, 2, 11 (4), *Isid. Orig.* 10, 198.<sup>3</sup>

†264. Vallos: id est pali, minicula vitium. *Cf. D* p. 192.1, *BE* p. 248.1.

†267. Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo: ab eo quod precedit id quod sequitur intellegamus, id est ut parant sibi rustici panes. *Cf. R* p. 192.23, *D* p. 193.1.<sup>4</sup>

†286. Fugae: profectionis. *Cf. SB* p. 869, Non. 307.25 f., *S* p. 196.17.<sup>5</sup>

292. Inspiciat: infindit. = *F.* *Cf. Vat.* p. 197.11, *BE* p. 251.19, *LG* (Thomson, p. 80).

†300. Parto: preparato. *Cf. R* p. 197.20 = *BE* = *SB.*

304. Coronas: volubilitates aut re vera . . . funus intelligimus. dicitur etiam spira unius tori, basis columnae, crassitudo vel duorum. = *A* p. 991 = *F.* *Cf. R* p. 198.8: volubilitates;<sup>6</sup> *Vitr.* 5, 2.

335. Sidera serva: = *Macrob. Som. Scip.* 1, 18, 21-22 verbatim

<sup>1</sup> The scholia of Servius in which Sallust is cited come ultimately from Asper according to Lammerhirt, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-325, 355; Ribbeck, *Proleg.* p. 107, Georgii, pp. 266-267, who cites *Macrob. Som. Scip.*, 2, 8, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Terence is cited by the commentator. I have used such an abbreviation throughout where Terence is cited by either *S* or *D.* This seems appropriate since Donatus wrote a commentary on that author.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Homeyer, De scholiis Vergilianis Isidori fontibus*, Jena, 1913, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Donatus *Ars Gram.*, 401.8 cites this verse as an example of hysteresia. In the *D* note different opinions are mentioned as to the use of this figure in this verse. *Cf. Don. Ad.* 5, 3, 61 (1 and 2) where, too, Donatus's *variorum* style of comment is adumbrated.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Georgii, Die Antike Aeneiskritik*, pp. 271-272.

<sup>6</sup> The *R* and *T* scholia seem to have come from the same source.

and 2, 1, 15 ff., on Pythagorean numbers (abbreviated); then 1, 19, 23-26 (very similar).<sup>1</sup>

†368. Plumas: aut re vera plumas aut flores carduorum accipe, qui pappi vocantur sive pappuli. Cf. *SB* p. 874 (Aratus ait), *BE* p. 259.15.<sup>2</sup>

415. Prudentia: = *A* p. 991 = *F* = Boethius, *Consol.*, 5, 6, 67 and 4, 6, 30-40 P.

498. Vestaque: = *A* pp. 991-992 = *F*. Cf. *BE* p. 277.9, *SB* p. 883, *DS Aen.* 2, 351; 1, 277.

*Geo.* 2, 40. Merito: propterea merito qui et famam ei auxerat et necessaria ministrabat et in gratiam augusti eum pervenire fecerat. = *F*. Cf. *S Aen.* 6, 664 (Ter.) Don. *Andr.* 2, 1, 31 (1), *Eun.* 3, 2, 5 (3), *Hec.* 3, 5, 37, *S Aen.* 1, 74; 9, 254, *DS Aen.* 4, 335.

†93. Passo: passum dicitur genus liquoris quod ex uva passa cogitur. = Non. 370.9.

101. Mensis secundis: = *A* p. 992 = *F*. Cf. *Vat.* p. 228.21, *DS Aen.* 1, 216 (= *T*), *S Aen.* 1, 723, *schol. Veron.* p. 404.5 (Hagen).

126. Tardum: quidam diuturnum, perseverantem. = *F* = Non. 410.21.

147. Flumine: = *A* p. 992 = *F*. Cf. besides *Isid. Orig.* 13, 21.1, cited by Hagen, *S Aen.* 1, 465; 5, 684, *DS Aen.* 2, 305, *D Aen.* 2, 719, Non. 303.23.

157. Subterlabentia: = *A* p. 992 = *F*. Cf. *Vat.* p. 234.27, *SB* p. 899.

160. Fremitu: = *A* p. 992 = *F*. Cf. Non. 447.11 (V), *Isid. Diff. Verb.* 226.

164. Avernis: = *A* p. 992 = *F*. Cf. Non. 14.4, *Isid. Orig.* 13, 19, 8, *S Aen.* 3, 442.

165. Rivos: = *A* pp. 992-993. Cf. *DS Geor.* 1, 106; *Aen.* 5, 200.

166. Venis: = *A* p. 993 = *F*. Cf. *D Geor.* 1, 135, *DS Aen.* 4, 88 (= *T*).

168. Verutos: pila ferentes in similitudinem veruum accuminata. Cf. the same scholiast on *Aen.* 7, 665, p. 179.9 and what is found in the margins of certain manuscripts of Nonius 554.29 (Lindsay) = *C.G.L.* V, 648.39. Cf. *LG* 252.31, 253.11.

<sup>1</sup> This scholium was undoubtedly taken from Macrobius.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *S* p. 205.8 and *S Aen.* 8, 632 (Ter.), Don. *Ad.* 3, 3, 25 (2).

169. Extulit: = *A* p. 993 = *F*. Cf. Non. 297.37 (V).  
 170. Scipiadas: = *A* *ibid.* = *F*. Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 1, 6, 26.<sup>1</sup>  
 175. Recludere: = *A* p. 993 = *F*. Cf. Non. 41.8, *SB Ecl.* 1, 53, p. 753.  
 177. Ingeniis: = *A* p. 993 = Non. 322.35. Cf. *BE* p. 298.7, *SB* p. 901.  
 †208. Ignava: nihil ferentia. Cf. Don. *Andr.* 1, 5, 42 (6): Ignavus est qui vim non potest fere. . . .  
 †225. Vacuis: infrequentibus. Cf. *SB* p. 904, *SB Geor.* 4, 90 (= *T*),<sup>2</sup> *DS Aen.* 2, 528,<sup>3</sup> 761.  
 295. Per annos. = *A* p. 993 = *F* = Non. 525.18.  
 †303. Pastoribus: agricolis, rustis (*sic*) vel custodibus; speciem pro genere. Cf. *DS Aen.* 12, 587.  
 †323. Ver adeo: valde, multum; et repetit quod sibi melius videbatur.<sup>4</sup>  
 328. Avia: devia, secreta . . . = *F*. Cf. *C.G.L.* IV, 22.48, 23.45.<sup>5</sup>  
 †333. Pampinus: sinecdochicos dixit pro vitibus; species pro genere. Cf. *Vat.* p. 247. 23 (Celsus).  
 †352. Urguerent: cooperirent, tegerent. Cf. Non. 417.14 (V).  
 †354. Seminibus positis: vitibus, virgultis et malleolis obrutis vel ordinatis. = Non. 457.30. Cf. *Vat.* p. 250.6.  
 †407. Fingit: componit. Cf. Non. 308.19, *S* p. 256.11, *SB* p. 914, *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 8, 634, *LG* 200.27.  
 451. Torrentem: = *A* p. 993. Cf. besides *Isid. Orig.* 13, 21.2, *Fest.* 352.27 M., *S Aen.* 2, 305, *Isid. Diff. Verb.* 244 (= *Suet. rel.*, p. 244 Reiff.).  
 †500. Voluntaria rura: voluntaria, non coacta. Cf. *DS Aen.* 3, 457: aut volens quia cogi non potest.  
 519. Trapetis: id est molis oleari in quibus teruntur oleae. = *F*.

<sup>1</sup> H. Linke, *Quaest. Macrob. Sat. font.*, 1880, pp. 16-17, n. 3, has discussed this scholium from *T*. Cod. *E* (f. 25b) has a similar note to this verse. Note that the *SB* scholium refers the reader to the sixth book of the *Aeneid*: 'Haec plenius in sexto libro dicemus;' cf. *BE* p. 297.18: memorabimus. Donatus began his commentary on Virgil with the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, while Servius began with the *Aeneid*. Cf. Barwick, *Philologus*, LXX (1911), pp. 116-118.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> In the margin of cod. *P* on *Aen.* 2, 528 the letter 'D' is written.

<sup>4</sup> *Vat.* has 'adeo abundat.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 86.

*Cf. S* p. 269.2, *Vat.* p. 269.6, *SB* (= *BE*) p. 921, *Isid. Orig.* 20, 14, 12,<sup>1</sup> *C.G.L.* IV, 186.5.<sup>2</sup>

†528. Coronant: vel replent vel re vera ex floribus ornant et coronant. *Cf. Vat.* p. 269.19, *SB* p. 921: vino replent, Homericè loquitur; *S Aen.* 1, 724, 3, 525. *Cf. m.* 1. on this verse, p. 432.9 *app. crit.*

†531. Praedura: durabilia et assueta labori. *Cf. Don. Ad.* 4, 2, 15: . . . durare . . . verbum perferendis malis convenit.

*Geor.* 3, 14. Propter: iuxta. = *SB* p. 922, *Don. Ad.* 4, 2, 37 (3), 2, 1, 15 (2).

†17. Illi victor ego: acquisitive, id est animi mei compos effectus. *Cf. Vat.* p. 274.18, *Non.* 416.27 (V).

†28. Magnum: pro magne, id est immense. *Cf. S* p. 277.3, *Don. Ars Gram.*, 393.20 K.

†49. Miratus: accensus, delectatus. *Cf. Non.* 347.21.

†75. Pullus: novellae aetatis significat hic pullus: dicimus autem et pullum nigrum. *Cf. Non.* 368.23: aetatis novellae; and *S Geor.* 3, 389: pullis: nigris.<sup>3</sup>

†76. Altius ingreditur: cum quadam ambitione vel comparativus pro positivo vel altius quam ceteri. *Cf. S* p. 289: cum exultatione quadam incedit;<sup>4</sup> *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 8, 162.

98. Ad praelia: ad commixtionem coitus = *F.* *Cf. Vat.* p. 284.32, *Don. Eun.* 5, 2, 60 (1).

†104. Effusi: fundere, demittere. = *Non.* 313.7 (V).

†114. Insistere: insistere est proprie diligentiam adhibere cuilibet rei. *Cf. C.G.L.* IV, 528.46.<sup>5</sup>

138. Rursus: quidam intellegunt in hoc loco 'retro,' quidam 'iterum,' 'denuo' sed rectius est intellegere 'retro'. = *A* p. 994 = *F.* *Cf. Non.* 384.32 (V): rursus: retro; 384.30: iterum; *Don. Eun.* 4, 4, 44 (2).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. Homeyer, op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Thomson*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Non.* 368.26: non album.

<sup>4</sup> There is a suggestion of a *variorum* commentary here. *Cf. Don. Ars Gram.* 374.28, *Don. Eun.* prol. 4 (3), *Hec.* prol. 2, 3 (2), *Phorm.* 2, 3, 15 (4), *S Aen.* 6, 304 (Varro)

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. C.G.L.* IV, 414.5; 447.43.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Vat.* p. 288.20; *Vat. Geor.* 3, 484: contra; *Geor.* 2, 78: abundat; *DS Aen.* 4, 534 (similar).



†140. Gravibus: onustis. = *Vat.* p. 288.25. *Cf.* Non. 314.9, *DS Aen.* 8, 220.

†143. Secundum: iuxta. = Non. 531.17, *SB* p. 933.

†151. Sicci: parum valentes, non re vera sicci. *Cf.* *Vat.* p. 290.3.<sup>1</sup>

168. Aptos: conexos et conligatos. = *F* = Non. 234.37 (V). *Cf.* *Vat.* p. 291.19: unitos aut connexos.

†178. Nitens: conans et moliens aliquid sub onere. *Cf.* Non. 353.25 (V).

183. Lituos: tubas militares. quidam virgam intellegunt. = *F.* *Cf.* *S Aen.* 7, 187, *DS Aen.* 2, 55 (Donatus), *SB* p. 934: tubas maiores.<sup>2</sup>

†191. Gradibus compositis: ordinatis, cum disciplina gradientibus. *Cf.* Non. 257.17, 317.11 (V).

197. Differt nubila: dissipat et scindit et cogit in pluvias. = *F.* *Cf.* Non. 284.17 (V), Don. *Andr.* 2, 4, 5 (1 and 2), *S* p. 293.10 *SB* p. 935.

200. Longi fluctus: ex intimo mari. *Cf.* *DS Aen.* 10, 574, *S Aen.* 11, 544 (Sallust.).

211. Relegant: removent, tractum a legatis, quia cum mittuntur legati removentur a nostris oculis. = *F.* *Cf.* *S* p. 294.2: removent; *S Aen.* 7, 775: Relegat: commendat ab aliis segregatum.

†215. Carpit: decerpit, imminuit. *Cf.* *D. Aen.* 4, 2: carpitur autem paulatim consumitur ut (*Geor.* 3, 215); Non. 252.7 (V): carpere, auferre, decerpere.<sup>3</sup>

226. Ignominia: nomen pro dignitate vel gloria ponitur; inde tractum est ut ignominia dicatur quasi sine nomine, id est gloria. = *F.* *Cf.* Isid. *Diff. Verb.* 302, Non. 24.5.

†228. Aspectans: frequenter aspiciens. *Cf.* *D Aen.* 12, 136 (= *T*): Aspectabat: amat usurpare antiquitatem.

†237. Medio ponto: vel in medio ponto vel ex medio ponto. *Cf.* *D Aen.* 3, 270: Medio . . . fluctu: iuxta morem cotidianum dixit 'medio,' ut si dicamus 'in medio maris naufragium fecit,' cum interdum non longe a litore contingit.

†\*242. Adeo: abundantis adeo vel est confirmativum. *Cf.* *D Geor.*

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Georgii, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* cod. *E* here: Lituus est bacillus auguralis, aduncis et sine nodis. *Cf.* *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 7, 187: . . . lituus dicitur baculus auguralis, recurvus et sine nodis.

<sup>3</sup> Don. *Ad.* 4, 5, 52 (1) has: "Carpam . . . alias laedam, ut (*Geor.* 3, 215)."

1, 24: 'adeo' hic praecipue. quidam 'adeo' abundare putant antiqua figura ut (*Geor.* 3, 242), Don. *Andr.* 3, 3, 47 (1), *Hec.* 4, 1, 9 (3).<sup>1</sup>

258. Quid iuvenis: = *SB* p. 938.<sup>2</sup>

264. Lynces: = *SB* p. 939 (Iunilius). Cf. *DS Aen.* 1, 323.

280. Hippomanes: = *SB* p. 940 (Iunilius). Cf. *Vat.* p. 298.6, *D Aen.* 4, 516 (where the same verse of Theocritus (2, 48) is cited), Ps. Prob. 3 p. 382.12 H, Hieron. in *Ierem.* XXIV, 769B, 937 M.,<sup>3</sup> *S* p. 297.27.

291. Sed me: = *SB* p. 941 (Iunilius).

†296. Dum mox: id est donec veniet verum tempus. Cf. *Vat.* p. 299.14 (Celsus), *SB* p. 941, *S Aen.* 1, 5; 2, 455,<sup>4</sup> *D Aen.* 1, 265, *C.G.L.* V, 287.63, 409.25.

†312. Comantes: crescentes ad similitudinem comarum. Cf. *S Aen.* 2, 391, *D Aen.* 3, 468 (= *T*).

†316. Atque ipsae memores: hoc est, sua sponte redeunt ad stabula. Cf. Don. *Hec.* 4, 4, 27 (2).

†317. Ducunt: nutriunt. Cf. *S* p. 301.15, Don. *Ad.* 1, 1, 23 (1).

†320. Virgea laetus pabula: tu videlicet qui hoc mereris habere. Cf. *D Aen.* 1, 35; 2, 395: laetus: *πρόθυμος*; *D Aen.* 275: laetus: virtute alacer.

324. Carpamus: pascere cogamus ipsa animalia. = *F*. Cf. *S* p. 302.1.<sup>5</sup>

†328. Rumpent: implebunt. Cf. *Vat.* p. 302.13; *DS Geor.* 1, 49.

†331. Aestibus mediis: in medio die, in flagrantia aestivi solis. Cf. *R Geor.* 1, 297: medio aestu, id est per diem quando aestus est.<sup>6</sup>

340. Mapalia: casa afrorum. = *F*. Cf. *Vat.* p. 303.8. *DS Aen.* 1, 421, *SB* p. 943 (Sallust.), *C.G.L.* V, 82.18 (Placid.), 220.13 (Lib. Gloss.), Hieron. *prol. Amos*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Don. *Eun.* 1, 2, 124; 2, 3, 21 (3); 5, 2, 41; *Ad.* 1, 1, 15 (5).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Georgii, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lammert, *De Hieron. Don. discip.*, p. 30, Funaioli, *Riv. di Filol. class.* XLVIII (1920), p. 224, who cites Ps. Probus here.

<sup>4</sup> The letter 'D' is written in the margin of cod. *P* on *Aen.* 2, 455.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Non. 252.21; carpere, pascere; Don. *Ad.* 4, 2, 52 (1): carpam . . . alias fruar ut (*Geor.* 3, 324).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *m.* 2 on *Geor.* 1, 297: medio aestu, in ferventissima die.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 4, 259: Magar lingua afrorum dicitur villa vel pastoralis casa; eadem sunt et mapalia. Cf. *LG* (Thomson on *Aen.* 1, 421, p. 106). The citation from Jerome I owe to Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

343. Tantum campi iacet: tantummodo; campi: in campis, adverbium; iacet: per plurimum diffunditur. = *F*.<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Non. 326.35: Iacet, per plurimum porrigitur (V), *DS Aen.* 1, 224.<sup>2</sup>

†344. Tectum: more militum. *Cf. Vat.* p. 303.16, *SB* p. 943.

†377. Totas: integras. = Non. 446.19 (V).

382. Rhipaeo Euro: perperam . . . conturbet. = *SB* p. 946 (Iunilius). *Cf. Vat.* p. 306.25, *Schol. Veron.* p. 410.17 H.<sup>3</sup>

383. Velantur: aut passivum posuit pro activo aut . . . velant sua corpora. = *A* p. 994 = *F*. *Cf. DS Aen.* 11, 101.

385. Lappae: species herbarum . . . evitet. = *SB* p. 946. *Cf. Vat.* p. 307.4.

†416. Mala tactu: sive ipsa tangit aliquem sive tangatur ab aliquo.<sup>4</sup>

431. Ingluvies: = *SB* p. 948. *Cf. Vat.* p. 310.6 (Varro).

†434. Asper: nocens. = Non. 244.6.

†Exterritum: perturbatus sive accensus ardore vel inflammatus. *Cf.* Non. 295.30 (V): exterritum, accensum, inflammatum.

†439. Micat: per vices et sine ordine movetur. = Non. 347.32.

†447. Secundo: placido, leni. = Non. 389.35 (V).

†448. Tristi: nigra. = Non. 409.36 (V).

454. Ulceris: = *A* p. 994 = *F*. *Cf.* Non. 431.1 f.<sup>5</sup>

458. Febris: Servius a fervore . . . sed alii non minoris auctoritatis a feritate dictam volunt. = *A* p. 994 = *F*. *Cf.* Non. 46.19.<sup>6</sup>

461. Gelonus: = *SB* p. 949 (Iunilius). *Cf. S* and *SB Geor.* 2, 115.

†469. Dira: dura, tristia, infesta et quasi deorum ira immisum. *Cf.* Non. 30.14.<sup>7</sup>

474. Alpes: lingua gallica montes alti. = *F*. *Cf. S* p. 313.5, *S Aen.* 4, 442, *D Aen.* 10, 13 Isid. *Orig.* 14, 8, 18.<sup>8</sup>

†\*476. Regna pastorum: ex effectu pastorum posuit regna. *Cf.*

<sup>1</sup> Funaioli, *Riv. ind.-gr.*, III (1920), p. 214, has not arranged this scholium correctly.

<sup>2</sup> The scholiast seems to have interpreted *campi iacet* as *humi iacet*. *Cf. S Aen.* 8, 333: Donatus dicit per pelagus . . . ut 'pelagi' adverbium sit.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Georgii, op. cit.*, p. 302 who compares Probus with this scholium.

<sup>4</sup> This kind of interpretation with 'vel . . . vel,' 'aut . . . aut' is found in the *S*, *DS* and *D* comment. *Cf. DS Aen.* 3, 515, *S* and *D Aen.* 2, 255, where in cod. *P* the letter 'D' is written in the margin.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Bede, De Orthogr.*, p. 294, 21K.

<sup>7</sup> See notes on *Geor.* 1, 37, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. supra*, p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf. Homeyer, op. cit.*, p. 15.

*DS Aen.* 1, 141: Carcere regnet: licet carcer sit, tamen regnum Aeoli; haec enim pro adfectu possidentis intellegenda sunt ut (*Ecl.* 1, 69), *SB* and *E* on *Ecl.* 1, 69, *Don. Eun.* 3, 1, 25 (2): mire extulit imperium, dicturus in beluas. (*Sic*) Vergilius (*Aen.* 1, 140-141).<sup>1</sup>

†488. Cunctantes: differentes et parentes ut immolaretur hostia. *Cf. Vat.* p. 314.23, *Non.* 252.31, *DS Aen.* 4. 133 (*Ter.*).

†490. Altaria: metonomia, per hoc quod continet illud quod continetur. *Cf. D* and *SB Ecl.* 8, 105, *D Ecl.* 5, 66: alii 'altaria' eminentia ararum et ipsa libamina; *schol. Veron.* on *Aen.* 5, 93, p. 433.3 *H, D Aen.* 12, 147 (= *T*) (*Probus*).

498. Immemor herbae: herbam veteres palmam vel victoriam volunt. = *F* = *Non.* 317.14 (*V*). *Cf. Vat.* p. 315.2.<sup>2</sup>

517. Ciet: dat. = *SB* p. 953, *S* p. 316.22, *DS Aen.* 12, 104.<sup>3</sup>

\*519. Opera in medio defixa relinquunt: duplex damnum, amissi pecoris et intermissi laboris. = *SB* p. 953. *Cf. Don. Andr.* 2, 5, 1 (4): relinquuntur vero res cum imperfectae relinquuntur ut (*Geor.* 3, 519);<sup>4</sup> *Vat. Geor.* 4, 328: relinquo pro amitto.

†536. Contenta: colligata, coniuncta vel sufficienti. *Cf. Non.* 264.15 (*V*).

†*Geor.* 4, 1. Protinus: insequenter, deinceps; nam et adverbium ordinis vel temporis. *Cf. Non.* 376.19 (*V*), *SB* p. 955, *S* p. 320.10.

Caelestia dona: = *A* p. 994 = *F*. *Cf. SB* p. 955, *S* and *Vat.* p. 320.11, *S Geor.* 1, 51, *Aen.* 5, 18, *Isid. Orig.* 13, 4, 3, *Diff. Verb.* 82.

7. Laeva: prospera, propitia. *Cf. Non.* 331.20, *S* and *Vat.* p. 321.7, *SB* p. 956.

Laeva: leva a levando . . . auxilio levantur. = *A* p. 994 = *F*. *Cf. Non.* 51.7.<sup>5</sup>

Numina laeva: secundum haruspicinam . . . ut Ennius ait 'Ab laeva rite probatum'. = *SB* p. 956. *Cf. Vat.* 321.7, *DS Aen.* 2, 693.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. m.* 5, *Aen.* 1, 140: In aula: in aulae carcere ubi vos constricti estis. de-  
spective dicit. See *infra*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. cod. E* here: . . . immemor curulis certaminis.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. on Geor.* 1, 110, *supra*, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. m.* 2 who reflects the Donatian interpretation better here: mortuo uno et abiuncto altero relinquitur opus imperfectum. See *infra*, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> The scholiast adds from *Isid. Orig.* 11, 68: scilicet quia . . . levantur. *Cf.*  
however *DS Aen.* 2, 54 and 693: sinistro a sinendo . . . unde alibi (*Geor.* 4, 7).  
This interpretation is also found in Isidore.



14. Meropes: 'Galbeoli' ut putat Tranquillus . . . ostenditur. = *SB* p. 956. Cf. *Suet. rell.* p. 257 Reiff., *Isid. Orig.* 12, 734, *Aelian, De Nat. Animal.* 11, 30, *Plin. N. H.* 10, 99.

17. Nidis: = *A* p. 994. = *Non.* 459.31 (V).

†22. Vere suo: sibi grato et apto. Cf. *S* p. 322.13, *SB* p. 957, *Don. Andr.* 3, 2, 30 (4).<sup>1</sup>

†24. Teneat: operiat, obtegat. Cf. *Non.* 412.11: tenet: tegit, *R Geor.* 1, 116: tenet: occupat et operit.

†35. Cogit: stringit. = *Non.* 265.8 (V).

39. Fuco: vel fucus genus cerae . . . persequitur. = *SB* p. 957. Cf. *Vat.* p. 323.11.<sup>2</sup>

†43. Fovere: constituerunt demum. Cf. *Non.* 311.33 (V).

†56. Fovere: nutriunt, provehunt. Cf. *Non.* 311.23 (V).

†58. Nare: provolare. Cf. *Non.* 353.28 (V), *Vat.* p. 324.34, *SB* p. 958.

†61. Contemplator: intueri. Cf. *S* p. 325.4, *Don. Ad.* 5, 8, 17 (1).

65. Matris: Cybele mater Iovis sive ut quidam affirmant . . . cymbalis personare = *A* pp. 994-995 = *F.* Cf. *DS Aen.* 3, 111.

†73. Trepidae: festinae. Cf. *Non.* 408.12 (V), *SB* p. 959, *S* p. 325.31.

†Coruscant: fulgent et quemadmodum milites scuta. Cf. *S* and *Vat.* p. 326.1.

†77. Sudum: serenum. Cf. *S* and *Vat.* p. 326.4, *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 8, 520.

†84. Obnixi: insistentes et fixi sive nitentes ut vincant. Cf. *Non.* 446.28, *D Aen.* 9, 725.

\*89. Deterior qui visus: non dicit quem putabis aut qui videbitur, sed quem videris, id est quem aspicias deteriolem. ex visu (usu *T.* Cf. *DS Aen.* 12, 396)<sup>3</sup> enim intellegitur. = *SB* p. 960 (Iunilius). Cf. *D Aen.* 4, 469: et bene 'vidit agmina' expressit furentem, cum ait 'videt' non 'existimat,' sed 'putat se videre'; *Vat. Geor.* 2, 502: Vidit, expertus est ut (*Aen.* 11, 263); *SB Geor.* 2, 68: Visura pro

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ender, *Aelii Donati commentii Vergiliani reliquiae praeter vitam, praefationem, prooemium*, Greifswald, 1910, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> The scholiast finding part of the scholium in Servius, (p. 323.10: genus est herbae . . . vestis), omitted this, after his fashion, in his transcription.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 2, 5 (f. 66b): Miserrima vidi: pro maiori certitudine dicit se ea vidisse. Cf. *Don. Ad.* 3, 1, 3 (2). Aesch., *Septem*, 100, with Tucker's note, Cambridge, 1908, p. 30. See *infra*, p. 146.

passura ut (*Aen.* 11, 263) . . . et (*Aen.* 2, 5); *D Aen.* 11, 263: Vidit, mire addidit . . .; *D Aen.* 2, 5: Miserrima vidi, est enim poena et in atrocitate spectaculi ut (*Aen.* 11, 263) et (*Aen.* 3, 623); *DS Aen.* 3, 623: dicit . . . quot autem occiderit, ignorare per timorem; *D Aen.* 4, 416: et est maior vis affirmantis, cum dicit 'vides;' *S Aen.* 10, 463: Victorem ferant morentia lumina Turni: Donatus dicit 'meminerit,' sed melius est 'sustineant' quasi pondus et poenam: nec enim meminisse possunt oculi; *D (= T) Aen.* 10, 443: multa mala graviora . . . si ante oculos . . . eveniant; Don. *Ad.* 3, 1, 3 (2), *Eun.* 3, 2, 1 (2): . . . omnes sensus visa dicuntur ab eo quod est certissimum oculorum; *Hec.* 3, 1, 38 (3), *Phorm.* 5, 1, 8, Hieron. in *Ierem.* 4, 18, 1 ff.: . . . magis mente retinetur quod oculis cernitur; *LG* 244.10 (Donatus).<sup>1</sup>

89. Prodigus: prodigi dicuntur . . . quasi porro agunt. = *SB* p. 960 (Iunilius). Cf. *Isid. Orig.* 10, 215.

90. Vacua: id est sine ceteris, vel 'vacua' ab altero non tacta, vel certe tale est, quale illud (*Aen.* 4, 82). = *SB* p. 960. Cf. *Vat.* p. 326.30: . . . hic ad aemulum refertur ut (*Aen.* 4, 82): . . . in qua (domo) maritus non erat; *Vat. Geor.* 3, 143: Vacuus autem saltibus sine maritis dixit; *SB Geor.* 2, 225 (= *T supra*, p. 121), *D Aen.* 4, 82: . . . 'sola' sine amatore tuo, *DS Aen.* 2, 528,<sup>2</sup> 761.

91. Maculis auro squalentibus ardens: quotescumque Vergilius rem pulchram vult ostendere, ardentem dicit ut (*Aen.* 4, 262) . . . horribilem vero 'squalentem' ut (*Aen.* 2, 277) = *A* p. 961. Cf. *D Aen.* 2, 277: Squalentem modo sordidam, alibi (10, 314) lucentem; *DS Aen.* 10, 314.<sup>3</sup>

108. Vellere signa: militari verbo usus est ut ibi (*Aen.* 11, 19-20) . . . et in historia <sup>4</sup> . . . transnatavit. = *A* p. 961. Cf. *S* et *D (= T) Aen.* 11, 19.

<sup>1</sup> In the margin of *cod. P* opposite the Servian note on *Aen.* 3, 36 the following is found: Quid visus et visum. Nt. D.

<sup>2</sup> In the margin of *cod. P* the letter 'D' is written opposite the Servian note on this verse.

<sup>3</sup> In the *T* note on this verse material taken from Nonius has been inserted. This addition is not found in the Fleury codex. Cf. Thilo, *app. crit.*, p. 426.11, and Georgii, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Hagen, p. 961 *app. crit.*, conjectures that this scholium is taken from the first book of Sallust's History. Funaioli, *Riv. ind.-gr.*, IV (1920), p. 10, postulates one source for *S* and this scholium.

115. Imbris: aquas. imbres consuetudo quorundam vult accipi . . . ut in hoc loco. = *A* p. 995 = *F* = Non. 459.33 (V).

134. Carpere: pro carpebat: infinitivo enim imperfecta tempora, ut Probus ait. = *SB* p. 964. Cf. *Vat.* p. 330.20.<sup>1</sup>

†138. Increpitans: incusans, insultans vel inclamitans. Cf. *DS Aen.* 1, 738: Increpitans, inclamitans ut (*Geor.* 4, 138); Non. 329.13: incusans, insultans.

144. In versum: versus a versura . . . binos enim sulcos rustici vocant bisulcos. = *SB* p. 964. Cf. *DS Aen.* 5, 119.

168. Fucos: genus apium . . . abigunt et trucidant. = *SB* p. 966. Cf. *Vat.* p. 333.10.

Ignavum pecus: quod neque adiuvat . . . Varro ait: pecus a pascendo veteres omne animal dixisse. = *SB ibid.* Cf. *S Aen.* 1, 435, pp. 143.1 and 5, *D ibid.*: 'Pecus . . . a pascendo'; Non. 460.2 (= *Vat.*).

Ignavum: segne, torpidum, feriatum quasi sine igni. = *F* = Non. 33.17 (V).

Praesepia: = *A* p. 995 = *F* = Non. 49.27.<sup>2</sup>

†169. Fervet: instantanter perficitur. Cf. *D Aen.* 4, 407 (= *T m.* 1), *S Aen.* 1, 436 (Ter.)

†175. In numerum: in ordinem. = *Vat.* p. 333.2. Cf. *SB* p. 966.

†178. Munere quamque suo: officio pro sua possibilitate et viribus. Cf. *Vat.* p. 334.6, *D Aen.* 2, 269: quidam donum ex voluntate . . . munus ex officio.

†181. Arbuta: genus arboris frondibus raris, habens rubicunda poma. Cf. *S Geor.* 2, 520: poma silvestria, *R Ecl.* 3, 83: genus virgulti.<sup>3</sup>

†188. Mussant: murmurant. Cf. *Vat.* p. 334.21, *SB* p. 967, Non. 427.15, Don. *Ad.* 2, 1, 53.

195. Saburram: saburra dicitur qua naves onerantur . . . ferant tempestatem. = *SB* p. 967.<sup>4</sup>

†202. Sufficiunt: subministrant. in metafora perseveravit ut quo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. cod. *E* here (f. 41b): Carpere, id est carpebat, infinitivus pro indicativo.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *vetera* for *veterina* is found in *T* and in cod. *Lugd. Voss. Lat.*, f. 73, also from Tours. Cf. Non. ed. Lindsay, p. 71 *app. crit.*

<sup>3</sup> The scholia in Servius and in codd. *R* and *T* here are derived from the same source.

<sup>4</sup> In the *D* scholia there is much on nautical subjects. Cf. *D Aen.* 1, 244; 3, 270; 5, 34; 12, 768 (= *T*), *DS Aen.* 5, 28 (*D* = *T*). See *supra* on *Geor.* 3, 200, 237.

niam regem dixit ita et aulam. Cf. *SB* p. 967, *Vat.* 335.21, *D Aen.* 5, 22 (= *T*), 9, 799.

211. Lydia: = *A* p. 995 = *F*. Hagen compares *Isid. Orig.* 14, 3, 43.<sup>1</sup>

†212. Observant: venerantur. = *S* p. 336.10 (*Ter.*). Cf. *Don. Ad.* prol. 2 (2-3), *Andr.* 1, 1, 142 (2).

†221. Deum: non ipsum deum, sed ipsum divinum spiritum.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *SB* p. 968, *S Aen.* 6, 724, p. 99.26; 6, 726, *Hieron. in Is.* XXIV, 558 A, 680 M.

232. Simul: quidam accipiunt . . . pro statim. = *A* p. 995 = *F*. Cf. *D Aen.* 2, 220: simul modo adverbium temporis.

233. Pleias: patronomicon vel a matre vel a fratre. . . . Pleion. = *A* p. 995 = *F*. Cf. *S Aen.* 12, 514 (*Donatus*), *Anecd. Helv.* p. 72.5 H. (*Donatus*).

†247. Cassum: cassum veteres pro inani . . . quasi quassum. = *Non.* 45. 10.<sup>3</sup>

Cassum: et notandum . . . ut ibi (*Geor.* 3, 371) . . . = *F* = *SB* p. 970. Cf. *S* (= *SB*) *Geor.* 3, 371, *D Aen.* 2, 85.

†250. Foros: spatia alvariorum. = *Vat.* p. 340.19.

†265. Ultro: id est statim cum deprehenderis morbum, quia illae non petere. Cf. *D Aen.* 2, 193: ultro: statim mox.

†268. Defruta: decocta, defecta. Cf. *Non.* 551.21 (*Varro*).

283. Arcadii magistri: Aristaei Apollinis et Cirenis filii . . . iuxta fabulam quam Fronto poeta descripsit . . . primus invenit. = *SB* p. 971 (*Iunilius*). Cf. *Vat.* 342.7, *DS Geor.* 1, 17 (*Sallust.*), where there is a cross-reference to this place; *S Geor.* 4, 307.

293. Usque coloratis: notandum quod 'usque' ablativo iunxit . . . nos accusativo iungimus. = *H* p. 972 = *F*. Cf. *Vat.* p. 343.4 (*Ter.*), *S. Aen.* 7, 289, *Don. Eun.* 3, 2, 18: Usque adverbium de loco est ut (*Aen.* 7, 289).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Philipp, *Die historisch-geographischen Quellen in den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla*, Berlin, 1912, Theil 1, p. 47, n. 4. Philipp maintains that the *S* and *D* scholia are both extracts from the commentary of Donatus. See Thomson, pp. 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> This scholiast invariably selects for his note one of the two or more alternative explanations of a word or phrase in Virgil discussed in his exemplar. I am indebted to Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 62, for the citation of Jerome.

<sup>3</sup> The reading *sint levis* is found also in codd. *Ludg.* and *Harl.* Lindsay, *Class. Quart.*, XI (1917), p. 189, holds that the exemplar of all our Nonius manuscripts was of British provenance.



†294. Iacit: ponit. = Non. 327.22 (V).

296. Imbrice: quidam intellegunt tolum tecti; quidam canalem: imbrex tamen dicitur quod arcet imbres. = *A* p. 995 = *F*. Cf. *LG* 255.25. Imbrices: tegulae, eo quod accipiant imbres,<sup>1</sup> *C.G.L.* II, p. XIII: Imbrex summum tecti cacumen . . . dictus imbrex quod arceat imbres.

†319. Extremit: summi. Cf. *S* and *Vat.* p. 344.27, *Don. Ad.* 2, 1, 42 (2).

†324. Aut quo tibi nostri pulsus amor: invidiam facit ut misericordiam consequi mereatur. Cf. *Don. Andr.* 1, 5, 46, *Hec.* 2, 1, 35, and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

326. Honorem: quidam intellegunt substantiam, delectationem praesentis vitae. = *A* p. 995 = *F*. Cf. Non. 320.8 (V).

327. Pecorum: non solum quadrupes . . . hoc loco accipere. = *A* p. 995 = *F* = Non. 460.3 (V).

343. Arethusa: una de Nymphis . . . rediit. = *SB* p. 974. Cf. *DS Aen.* 3, 694.

345. Furta: Martis: quidquid occulte geritur, potest furtum appellari, sicut hoc loco. = *A* p. 995 = *F*. Cf. Non. 453.24 (V), *S* p. 346.23 (Donatus), *S Aen.* 11, 515, *Don. Eun.* 4, 7, 39 (4).

354. Tristis: bene dixit 'tristem,' ut magis matrem sollicitam reddat. = *SB* p. 975. Cf. *Don. Ad.* 1, 1, 54, *Phorm.* 1, 2, 7.<sup>3</sup>

356. Te crudelem: tardum misericordiae genus est, eo tempore subvenire, quo crudelis coeperis accusari. = *SB* p. 975. Cf. *supra* on 324, 354.

379. Carchesia: carchesium est poculum proprie procerum et circa mediam partem compressum, ansatum mediocriter, ansis a summo ad infimum pertingentibus = *A* p. 995 = *F* = Macrobius. *Sat.* 5, 21, 4. Cf. *C.G.L.* V, 585.2.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. cod. *E* (f. 44a) here: *dicitur imbrex eo quod imbres repellat*, and what Fabricius edited from his manuscript, Thilo, p. 343.13 *app. crit.* Thomson edits the gloss from *LG* in his 'Abstrusa' collection, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> See J. W. Basore, *The Scholia on Hypokrisis in the Commentary of Donatus*, Baltimore, 1908, pp. 74-75, for the passages from Donatus on *invidia*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Basore, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> The scholiast obtained his material directly from Macrobius here, as is shown by the note of the annotator in cod. *E* (f. 45a) in this place: Carchesia sunt pocula grecis tantummodo nota, ut dicitur (*sic*) macrobius, prolixa et circum mediam partem pressa, ansata mediocribus ansis a summo usque ad imum.

- †383. Servant: inhabitant, possident. = Non. 387.42 (V).  
 †386. Omine: auspicio prospero. = Non. 357.26 (V).  
 †389. Metitur: transmeare. = Non. 350.16 (V).  
 †401. Cum sitiunt herbae: siccantur. Cf. *Vat.* p. 351.26.  
 †405. Correptum: comprehensum. = Non. 254.23, 411.41 (V).  
 †412. Contende: astringe, intorque. = Non. 258.34 (V).  
 †417. Compositis crinibus: ornatis. = Non. 257.25 (V).  
 †445. Nam quis te: quisnam. Cf. *schol. Veron.* p. 411.10 H.  
 452. Ardentes: 'ardet' plura significat: 'flagrat' ut (*Aen.* 10, 270) . . . 'festinat' ut (*Aen.* 4, 281): . . . Hic ira et indignatione accensos oculos vult significare. = *SB* p. 978. Cf. *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 10, 270 (f. 178a): Ardet: relucet, refulget; *m.* 1 on *Aen.* 4, 281: Ardet; festinat (where there is no extant scholium in the *S* or *DS* manuscripts); *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 9, 196, *schol. Veron.* p. 411.16 H.  
 †458. Immanem: nocentem aut magnum. Cf. Non. 323.12.  
 †459. Servantem: inhabitantem sive tenentem. Cf. Non. 387.42, *S* p. 354.21, *SB* p. 979, *schol. Veron.* p. 411.18 H.  
 465. Te veniente die, te decedente: tota die et est pathos . . . epanaphora. = *A* p. 996.<sup>1</sup>  
 482. Inhians: hiatus dicitur omnis oris apertio . . . vehementer incumbere. = *A* p. 996 = *F* = *C.G.L.* V, 26.2 = 74.4 = 109.32 (Placidus). Cf. *Isid. Orig.* 15, 9, 3, *S Aen.* 4, 64.<sup>2</sup>  
 492. Foedera: pactio . . . ad superos pervenisset. = *SB* p. 980. Cf. *Myth. Vat.* 1, 16,<sup>3</sup> *S Aen.* 6, 119,<sup>4</sup> *R Ecl.* 3, 45; 4, 55.<sup>5</sup>  
 †\*504. Quid faceret e. q. s.: rhetorice affectum commovet. Cf. *Don. Ad.* 5, 3, (3): mira αἰξῆσις.<sup>6</sup>  
 †\*514. Integrat: repetit, ingeminat. Cf. *Don. Andr.* 4, 2, 5 (1): Integrascit: integratur quod ad integrum redit quod repetitur . . . ut (*Geor.* 4, 514).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. L. Moore, *Servius on the Tropes and Figures of Virgil*, Baltimore, 1891, pp. 56-57, where citations from the *D* scholia on the figure *repetitio* are brought forward. Cf. *D Aen.* 2, 394: ut properantium; 3, 639: in re necessaria; 8, 272: ad honorem et potestatem; 397: decorem addidit.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *Riv. d. Filol. class.*, XLVIII (1920), p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Schulz, *De Myth. Vat. primi font.*, Halle, 1905, pp. 58-59.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the scholium from cod. *E* citing Varro on Orpheus, *infra*, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *St. Ital. di Filol. class.*, XXI (1915), p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ender, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Non. 126.32: 'integrare: reintegrare,' *Vat.* p. 357.20 (= *SB*).

†521. Tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum: hic movet misericordiam rhetorice. Cf. on 324, 354, 356 *supra*.

†526. Ah miseram Euridicen . . . Euridicen: epanaphora facit pathos. Cf. on 465 *supra*, SB p. 982: Saepius repetendo nomen exaggerat dolorem.

538. Eximios: non est ('tum est' Hagen, incorrectly) poeticum epitheton . . . id demonstravit. = A p. 996 = F = Macrobian. *Sat.* 3, 5, 6.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Don. *Hec.* 1, 1, 9.

*Hand 2.* Scholia similar to those found in *Regin.* 1495 or to the additional scholia edited by Thilo from the *Lemovicensis* or *Vaticanus* were written on the earlier poems by the second hand:

*Ecl.* 1, 6. Otia: haec otia, id est hanc securitatem. = H p. 750. Cf. R p. 521, Don. *Andr.* 2, 3, 24; 5, 2, 1 (3), *Ad.* 2, 1, 2 (3). C.G.L. V, 317.22.<sup>2</sup>

†*Ecl.* 1, 70. Novalia: novalia dicuntur . . . silva tollitur. = R p. 16.11. Cf. LG 227.3 (= BE), C.G.L. IV, 374.7 (Amplon. I), Isid. *Orig.* 15, 13.12.<sup>3</sup>

†*Ecl.* 7, 48. Torrida: ardens et sicca. Cf. D p. 89.26, SB p. 812.<sup>4</sup>

†*Ecl.* 8, 27. Aevoque sequenti: sequenti tempore: Cf. D p. 96.8: pro tempore . . . alibi pro annis ut (*Aen.* 2, 639); D *Aen.* 2, 639: Sane aevum hic ad annos referre debemus, cum alibi tempus significat ut (*Ecl.* 8, 27) . . .; S *Aen.* 6, 764,<sup>5</sup> T *Aen.* 7, 776, D *Aen.* 10, 53 (cf. T).

*Geor.* 1, 24. Tuque adeo: adsis praecipue caesar. = F. Cf. D p. 138.3: 'adeo' hic praecipue.

†27. Auctorem: ut originem illis praestes. Cf. D p. 138.26.

†29. Venias: et velis te pro neptuni (*sic*) coli. Cf. D p. 139.3.

†30. Numina sola: id est sola et praecipua super omnes deos maris, ut melior sis futura neptuno et diis marinis. Cf. DS p. 139.7.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Linke, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thilo, *Rh. Mus.* XIV (1859), p. 542; *praef.*, vol. III, p. vi; Funaioli, *Studi Ital. di Filol. class.* XXI (1915), pp. 74 ff.; Lindsay, *Class. Quart.*, XI (1917), p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thomson, on *Geor.* 1, 71; Funaioli, *Riv. di Filol. class.*, XLVIII (1920), p. 462; *Riv. ind.-gr.* III (1919), p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Georgii, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244.

<sup>5</sup> Opposite scholia on *Aen.* 2, 639 and 6, 764 in cod. P. is written the letter 'D'.

†49. Ruperunt: plus est quam diceret impleverunt, repleverunt: non habeat ubi ponat. Cf. *DS* p. 145.23.

†69. Officiant: noceant. = *D* p. 150.1. Cf. *BE* p. 218.17.

†97. Terga: superfitem (*sic*) campi. Cf. *D* p. 155.7.

†171. A stirpe: a principio illius. Cf. *D* p. 172.9, *R ibid.*, *C.G.L.* IV, 175.46 (Abstr).<sup>1</sup>

†173. Ante: scilicet tempus antequam opus exigit ne pondera sit. Cf. *D* p. 172.19.

†176. Tibi: o mecenas vel o agricola. facit apostrofam ad mecena-tem. Cf. *D* p. 173.8.

†180. Fatiscat: deficiat et resolvatur. Cf. *DS* p. 173.21: dissolvatur.

186. Inopi: quia senes timent inopia consumi. = *F*. Cf. *DS* p. 174.25.

†240. Mundus: mundus pro caelo. = *Vat.* p. 187.7. Cf. *SB* p. 865 (Aratus), *Isid. Nat. Rer.* 9, *Orig.* 3, 28-29.<sup>2</sup>

†257. Obitus: occasus. Cf. *D* p. 190.6, *R ibid.*

*Geor.* 2, 67. Chaoniiue patris: caona silva epyri dicta a caone fratre heleni, quem nesciens in venatione occidit. = *F*. Cf. *D Geor.* 1, 8: Chaoniam . . . quae cur Chaonia dicta est in tertio Aeneidis plenius habes; *D Aen.* 3, 334: . . . sicut dictum est . . . Chaoniam ab Heleno appellatam, qui fratrem suum Chaonem, vel ut alii dicunt, comitem, dum cenaretur, occiderat; cod. *Floriac.* on *Aen.* 3, 293, p. 394.5 *app. crit.*, *DS Aen.* 3, 297, p. 395.1.<sup>3</sup>

*Geor.* 3, 564. Immundus sudor: id est morbus pedicularis (*sic*) qui apud Servium teriasis dicitur.<sup>4</sup>

†*Geor.* 4, 534. Faciles Napaeas: napi saltus, dria silva. Cf. *Vat.* p. 358.22, *schol. Veron.* p. 412.12 H.

The following scholium by the same hand is from Nonius or his source:

†*Geor.* 3, 115. Frena: frena dicuntur a fero, id est aequo (*sic*):

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Funaioli, *Riv. di Fil. Class.* XLVIII (1920), p. 468, maintains that the *SB* scholium is from Suetonius (p. 220 Reiff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barwick, *Philologus*, LXX (1911), p. 117; Thomson, p. 73, from *LG*: Chaonii regio Epiri.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Funaioli for this scholium. Read '*peducularis*' and '*φθελπιασιν*'. *LG* (Donatus) has a different note here, Thomson, p. 98.



antiqui enim quod nos equum dicimus, ferum dicebant. Cf. Non. 307.18: Ferus iterum ecus, Vergilius; *DS Aen.* 2, 51, *S Aen.* 7, 489, *schol. Medic. Aen.* 2, 51.<sup>1</sup>

This scholiast shows direct influence of the commentary of Aelius Donatus, at least in the three following scholia.

†*Geor.* 1, 47. Demum: maxime. Cf. *LG (C.G.L. VI, 322)*: Demum: vel maxime vel postremo vel novissime vel denique. Donatus tamen demum 'vere' intellegit.<sup>2</sup>

†*Geor.* 2, 130. Agit: pellit. Cf. *D Aen.* 4, 245: Agit ventos: non vocat aut transit . . . an ergo ducit . . . an excludit ac pellit ut (*Geor.* 2, 130) . . .; Don. *Ad.* 2, 21 (3): Agerem: prosequerem, premerem ut . . . (*Aen.* 4, 245) . . . 'agit ventos,' id est nimia celeritate prosequitur et paene occupat praevenitque.<sup>3</sup>

†*Geor.* 3, 519. Opera in medio defixa relinquit: mortuo uno et abiuncto altero relinquitur opus imperfectum. Cf. Don. *Andr.* 2, 5, 1 (4): Relinquuntur vero res cum imperfectae relinquantur ut (*Geor.* 3, 519).<sup>4</sup>

This second hand has occasionally fuller notes than those published by Hagen either in the Berne Scholia or in the *Brevis Expositio*:

†*Geor.* 1, 58. Chalybes: a chalibio vico euboeae, ita dicti quod inde videantur esse coloni. Cf. *BE* p. 216.10, *SB* p. 850.

†361. Mergi: corvi maritimi, dicuntur corvi a crebra mersione; merges vero mergitis, dicuntur manipuli segetum. Cf. *BE* p. 258.18: Mergi, corvi marini, *S* and *Vat. Geor.* 2, 517, *DS Aen.* 5, 128, Suet. *Diff. Verb.*, p. 281 Reiff.<sup>5</sup>

368. Concludere plumas: plumas posuit pro avibus et dicitur quando tempestas imminet. sunt qui dicunt aves quae facili et levi natatu super aquam fertur, ut sunt anadae vel etiam ut aliqui dicunt,

<sup>1</sup> Suringar, *Hist. Scholiast.*, II, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note of *m.* 1 to this verse, *supra*, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> There are no extant scholia on *Geor.* 2, 130. Cf. the notes of *m.* 1 on *Ecl.* 5, 24; 8, 17; 9, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. notes of *m.* 1 *supra* and *m.* 3 *infra* on this verse.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *R* p. 204.13: corvi aquatici; Festus 124.1M., *LG* 222.18, *C.G.L.* IV, 372.26 (Amplon.), Isid. *Orig.* 12, 7, 54. Remigius in *Focam* (p. 419.28K) has something similar: Mergus mergi, corvus aquaticus a frequenti mersione. Mergitis manipulus spicarum. See *Didaskaleion* II (1913), p. 83 (Manitius). Cf. *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 5, 128: Mergi sunt corvi mari (*sic*) a crebra mersione dicti.

ipse plumae quae decidunt ab avibus feruntur super aquas, vel flores carduorum qui pappi (vocantur?). = *F.* Cf. *BE* p. 259.15: Plumas: quascumque, nisi forte papulos significat, id est cardui florum, *SB* p. 874 (Aratus), Fest. P. 220.11 M.<sup>1</sup>

One note of this scholiast is more detailed than the corresponding one in Servius:

†*Geor.* 1, 467. Ferrugine: ferrugo proprie dicitur purpura nigra quae et hispanica nuncupatur; vilior est, sed hic pro nube nigra et obscura posuit poeta. Cf. *S* p. 212.23. "Ferrugo autem est purpura nigrior Hispana," *DS Aen.* 9, 579, Isid. *Orig.* 14, 3, 36, Tib. Cl. Donatus II, p. 263.6 G., where nothing however, is said of *ferrugo* being a *vilior purpura*.<sup>2</sup>

The notes of this scholiast more often agree with *Regin.* 1495 than do those of the first hand. At times they are fuller than those in that codex:

†*Geor.* 1, 155. Insectabere: persecutus fueris, mundaveris, sarieris. Cf. *R* p. 169.2: Insectabere, pro insectatus fueris: futurum indicativi pro futuro subiunctivi, *S* p. 168.23: . . . sarrieris. . . .

298. Sere nudus: in serenitate exerce ut possis contempnere amicum vel sic fortiter insiste ut pro nihilo ducens frigus nudus liberius laborare. = *F.* Cf. *R* p. 197.19.

325. Diluit: permiscit et confundit, dissipat, evertit. = *F.* Cf. *R* p. 200.14: delet et evertit.

†328. Molitur: intentat, iacit. Cf. *R* p. 200.20: agitat et iacit.

He took one definition from Festus P. 43 M:

*Geor.* 1, 110. Ciere: ciere est movere in supercilium palebre. = *F.*<sup>3</sup>

*Hand* 3. The third scholiast has notes which reflect acquaintance with the additions to Servius as represented by the Vatican manuscript:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Funaioli, *op. cit.*, p. 466, n. 1. *F.* did not decipher all this note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thomson, *Introd.*, p. 60, and on *Geor.* 1, 167 (p. 82); the explanation cited from *LG* by Thomson differs from ours. The second and the fifth scholiasts agree here, for *m.* 5 has a note on *Aen.* 9, 579: ferrugo est genus purpurae hispanicae nigrae et vilis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, *m.* 1, p. 117. Remigius, *Expositio in pascale carmen*, has something similar: . . . cillere dicunt Graeci movere, unde cilia dicuntur a movendo (Huemer, *Sedulii opera*, App. p. 320.11 f.).

†*Geor.* 2, 502. Tabularia vidit: diptica. antiqui enim in tabulis aereis scribebant ea quae filiis suis dabant, ut si fortuitus laberetur praelio, sanctata res. . . . Cf. *Vat.* p. 268.3, Polyb. 3, 26.<sup>1</sup>

†*Geor.* 3, 176. Fetae: onere levatae, quia fetum dicitur onere levatum. Cf. *Vat.* p. 292.7, Non. 312.1, *S Aen.* 1, 51, *LG* 224.7.<sup>2</sup>

†458. Refert: iuvat, prodest, quia omnes plena sunt morte. Cf. *Vat.* p. 318.23, Don. 3, 2, 16 (4): Retulit, profuit vel interfuit.

†*Geor.* 4, 176. Forcipe ferrum: forceps a formo et capio (sic). Cf. *Vat.* p. 334.1, Isid. *Orig.* 10, 99; 19, 7, 3; 20, 13, 3.

314. Leves ineunt: levem habentes armaturam. = *F.* Cf. *Vat.* p. 344.16, *SB* p. 972.

The following notes by this hand show that he has a partiality to the interpretations favored by Donatus:

†*Geor.* 2, 514. Patriam: villam quasi domos. Cf. *S* p. 268.23: Donatus villam intellexit, non re vera patria; *SB* p. 921: Patriam: villam.

†529. Lenaeae: leneus ipse eorum mentes (?) liniat (*sic*). Cf. *S* *Geor.* 2, 4: nam quod Donatus dicit ab eo, quod mentem deleniat, non procedit . . . ; *DS Aen.* 4, 20.<sup>3</sup>

†*Geor.* 3, 305. Haec capellae: figurate . . . nam hae fuerat dicendum. Cf. *LG* 174.10. Haec capellae, non hae capellae ut Donatus; *Vat.* p. 300.10: Hae quoque: id est capellae. legitur et 'haec'; *S* p. 300.6.<sup>4</sup>

†510. Lenaeos: latices; leneos eo quod mentem leniat, scilicet liquores vinarios. Cf. this hand on *Geor.* 2, 529 *supra*.

†*Geor.* 4, 256. Exsequiae: exequie ab exequendo dicuntur, quia secuntur. feretrum sunt enim exequie et pompam (*sic*) quae exhibentur . . . feruntur ad sepulturam. Cf. Don. *Andr.* 1, 1, 90 (1 and 3).<sup>5</sup>

*Hand 4.* The fourth scholiast used Festus Paulus, Nonius, Macrobius and the Berne scholia to supplement his Servius, which seems to have followed the tradition found in the *Codex Reginensis*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Römische Privataltertümer*, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 128-129.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 2, 207, p. 301.12 *app. crit.* See p. 108 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> The scholiast seems to have taken his interpretation from Servius here.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Isid., *Orig.* 2, 2, 35; *m.* 1 on *Aen.* 11, 24, p. 480.24: Animas posuit pro corporibus. This last verse of the *Aeneid* is cited by Don. *Andr.* 1, 1, 90 (3): Ire proprie dicitur ad exequias. Vergilius, 'Ite,' ait, 'egregias animas.'

<sup>6</sup> This was the case also with *m.* 1. See p. 111.

*Ecl.* 5, 48. Nec calamis solum aequiperas: si allegorice vis accipere, non solum equiperavit vergilius theocritum dignitate et sensu, verum etiam venustate verborum. = *F.*<sup>1</sup>

*Ecl.* 6, 35. Discludere Nerea ponto: nereus deus maris. separare nereia ponto, id est animalia marina a terrestribus in ponto et pro animalibus marinis posuit ipsum deum, sive discludere nereia ponto separare animalia marina a terra vel mare ab aquis, aquam ab arida = *F.* Cf. *R* p. 70.24.<sup>2</sup>

The sources of the first and fourth of the following scholia have been given already by Hagen and Funaioli respectively:

*Geor.* 1, 343. Dilue: id est dissolve . . . quidam mulsam magis volunt intellegi . . . Baccho = *F.* Cf. *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 11.<sup>3</sup>

*Geor.* 2, 471. Lustra: proprie . . . potandique gratia = *A* p. 993. Cf. *Non.* 135.7, *D Aen.* 4, 151 (= *T*), *Isid. Orig.* 14, 8, 29.<sup>4</sup>

487. Bacchata: bacchare veteres . . . dixerunt = *F* = *Non.* 78.20 (V).

*Geor.* 3, 24. Scaena: scaena est camera . . . explanationibus tragicis. alii tria genera ostendunt . . . tertia satyricorum. = *A* p. 993 = *F.* 'Scaena . . . tragicis,' is taken from Placidus, *C.G.L.* V, 41.9.<sup>5</sup>

The two following scholia are noteworthy: the first glosses Servius with Festus Paulus; the second gives us another clue to the class of manuscript used by this scholiast (as well as by *m.* 1)<sup>6</sup> for his citations from Nonius:

*Ecl.* 9, 26. Schedia, quod servius (p. 113.2) dicit, dicuntur poemata pessima, tractum a quodam genere navigii quod trabibus compactis tantum constat. = *F.* Cf. *Fest. P.* 335.7 *M.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here the scholiast seems to have combined the interpretations found in *E* and *SB*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *E* here with its Irish gloss. Did the additional notes in cod. *R* come from a manuscript of Irish provenance?

<sup>3</sup> Linke, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 3 discusses this note. Thilo noted the fact that *quidam* in the *T* scholium on *Aen.* 3, 66, p. 349.5 (= *m.* 1) stands for Macrobius.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Georgii, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> The *Excerpta de Comoedia* of Donatus, printed by Wessner in his edition of Donatus's Commentary on Terence (I, p. 30) show a general similarity with the latter part of this scholium.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 108.



*Geor.* 2, 472. *Iuventus*: *iuentus*, *iuenta* et *iuvenilitas* differunt inter se. *iuentus* *iuvenes*. *iuentas* *etas ipsa*. *iuenilitas* *quod ormenu* (leg. ὄρμην) vel *pathos graeci* vocarunt. *iuentus* *multitudo iuvenum*. *iuenta* *unius hominis aetas*. *iuentas ipsa dea* (sicut *libertas*, ss.), ut *greci dicunt* aut *poetae*, *uxor herculis*, a qua *iunium mensem* appellatum in *libris fastorum* legitur. = *F.* 'Iuventus . . . *graeci vocarunt*' = *Non.* 433.13 (V).<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the rest of the scholium *Bede De Orthogr.*, p. 276.14 and *Agroecius* p. 124.7 K., *C.G.L.* VII, 276.14 and 124.7,<sup>2</sup> *Ovid, Fasti*, 6, 65 ff.

There are very few notes written by the fifth hand to the earlier poems. They have been published by Hagen (pp. 987-988) and more recently by Funaioli (p. 50):

*Ecl.* 1, 42. *Iuvenem*: *notant critici hunc locum . . . iuvenem fore*. Cf. *E* p. 22.19: *Decreverat enim Senatus, ne quis eum puerum diceret ne maiestas tanti imperii minueretur*.<sup>3</sup>

*Ecl.* 9, 66. *Divisos Britannos*: *a toto orbe dicit, quia sicut Solinus ait . . . orbem*. Cf. *Solinus*, p. 99.14 Mom.<sup>4</sup>

### III. SCHOLIA TURONENSIA ON THE AENEID

In studying such a manuscript as the *Turonensis*, so filled with scholia of all sorts, the investigator may be pardoned if he confesses to a certain embarrassment of riches. Funaioli's culling from the numerous scholia on the earlier poems<sup>5</sup> shows how two scholars working independently may differ in their collections of the more important scholia.

Before we deal with the scholia on the *Aeneid* two points should be borne in mind: first, that virtually all the interpretations of the

<sup>1</sup> *Cod. Lugd. Voss. lat. f.* 73, formerly of Tours, reads *ormenu*. Cf. *Nonius* ed. Lindsay, p. 698 *app. crit.*

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts of *Bede* and *Agroecius* differ from our scholiast only in their retention of the words *Iunonis filia* after *poetae*. This scholium may be found in Plate I, lower margin.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Georgii, op. cit.*, p. 221: *Die formel not. crit. . . weist auf alte Herkunft.*

<sup>4</sup> The same scholiast cites *Solinus* also in his annotations on *Aen.* 7, 697 and on *Aen.* 8, 98 (= p. 213.12 *app. crit.*).

<sup>5</sup> I had not seen Funaioli's collection until some time after I had made my first draft of the scholia.

first, fourth and sixth hands to books 3-12 have been sifted by the editors in establishing the text of the *Floriacensis*. The few scholia by these hands which showed some differences from this manuscript Thilo has given in his critical apparatus.<sup>1</sup>

There remains the fifth hand, Thilo's Tironian scribe. A few of the notes of this scholiast have been given in his apparatus when that editor saw points of agreement or otherwise with the other hands or with the *Floriacensis*. He made no attempt to sift these notes thoroughly: in fact such a procedure would not have aided him in the object he had before him, which was to edit for the *Aeneid* the *Servius auctus* as represented by the two principal manuscripts, the *Fuldensis* (books 1-2) and the *Floriacensis* (books 3-12). The extant scholia on the first two books appeared to the editors to offer no material of value for editing the *Servius auctus* of the Fulda manuscript.<sup>2</sup> In the following pages I have attempted to classify according to their sources some of these *inedita*; first, of what I might call the annotations of the 'legitimate' hands (first, fourth and sixth), then those by the fifth, who because of his ubiquitousness and apparent irresponsibility might be termed a 'free lance.'

The legitimate hands furnish some non-Servian matter which it may be well to discuss before arranging the scholia that seem to proceed from some ancient commentary.

The commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on the *Aeneid* was used here as elsewhere by these scholiasts in an abbreviated form, as Thilo noted.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *praef.*, p. LXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as *T* is our only source for several valuable scholia first edited by Daniel (cf. *infra*, p. 148), it would seem *a priori* possible that the notes on the first two books might furnish something more or less interesting.

<sup>3</sup> *Praef.*, p. LXIII, and *app. crit.* on *Aen.* 4, 228, p. 506.1, where, as is his wont, the scholiast inserted Tib. Cl. Donatus's interpretation in the scholium of Daniel. This scholiast used the same formula for citing non-Servian authorities, which we have already noticed in discussing the scholia to the earlier poems. Cf. the scholium on *Aen.* 1, 403 (*Quidam non indocti ita iungunt* = Tib. Cl. Don. 1, p. 87, 18 G.) with the formula found in a note by this hand to *Ecl.* 9, 43 (p. 115, *supra*), where *quidam* = Nonius. The archetype of the manuscript of Tib. Cl. Don. came to France from Britain in the time of Alcuin according to Georgii, *praef.*, p. XVIII. Cf. what has been said above (p. 110) in regard to the Tours manuscript of Nonius.

Nonius Marcellus has furnished some information to this scholiast here as elsewhere:

*Aen.* 1, 505. Testudine: testudo est camera obliqua ad similitudinem aquatiliū testudinū, quae duris sunt tergis et incurvis. *Cf.* Non. 58.8.

*Aen.* 2, 277. Squalentem: pro qualitate loci accipitur squalor interdum. Aliquando cum referta est res aliqua honesta re dicitur squalere, id est resplendere; et hoc tractum est a squamis piscium. *Cf.* Non. 452.18.

304. Segetem: segetem hoc loco intellegamus frumenti fructus, quia pro loci qualitate accipitur seges. *Cf.* Non. 395.9.

475. Trisulcis: omne quicquid in longitudine aculeatus est proprie sulcus dicitur. *Cf.* Non. 448.15.

678. Coniunx quondam tua dicta: inter speratam et dictam et pactam . . . dici potest = Non. 439.4 (omitting the verses from Plautus).

Fulgentius (*Expos. Serm. Antiq.* 24, pp. 118–119) was the source of this scholium:

*Aen.* 2, 280. Expromere voces: promum et condum dicebant veteres cellaria (unde promuntur necessaria, ss.), inde tractum est ut expromere dicitur quod in penetralibus est animi effundere.<sup>1</sup>

Paulus's Epitome of Festus provided data for one note:

*Aen.* 2, 487. Aedes: aedes proprie appellatum domicilium in aedito (*sic*) positum loco, simplex et unius aditus. caticresticos autem in omni genere constructionis, quamquam aedifico nihil est quam aedem facio.<sup>2</sup>

Vegetius Renatus (*Epitoma Rei Militaris* 4, 14) furnished one scholium:

*Aen.* 2, 441. Testudine: proprie testudo est de materia ac tabulis contextitur, quae ne exuratur centonibus et ciliciis vestitur et intrinsecus accipit trabem quae adunco praefigitur ferro, quod falx vocatur.<sup>3</sup>

So much for the non-Servian scholia. The same scholiasts seem to have had recourse to an exemplar containing marginal notes which

<sup>1</sup> The words *inde tractum* . . . *effundere* seem to have been added by the scholiast.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. D Aen.* 2, 512.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. m.* 5 on *Aen.* 7, 637, p. 175.21, with Vegetius Renatus 3, 5.

had their source in some ancient commentary or commentaries on Virgil. Certain scholia by the first three hands<sup>1</sup> on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* seem to have been derived ultimately from Donatus, filtering through that collection known as the Berne Scholia. Have we here fragments of the Berne Scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid*?<sup>2</sup>

*Aen.* 1, 261. Quando: si quidem vel quoniam. = *DS* p. 97.14, 6f.; Don. *Andr.* 3, 2, 7 (3): Quando pro quoniam.

458. Quidam saevum ad menelaum et agamemnonem referunt quod videlicet senior fuerit achilles illis duobus, sed servius priamo et atridae comparat achillem.

*Aen.* 2, 15. Equum: quidam dicunt habuisse eum in longitudine C pedes, in latitudine L, cuius oculos et genua mobilia tradunt, quod vergilius et homerus probant.

*Cf.* the scholium in *Monacensis* 18059 on this verse (Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXXXIV, n. 1): aractinus dicit fuisse in longitudine pedes C. et in latitudine pedes b eius ad [cuius et?] caudam et genua mobilia fuisse tradidit. *Cf.* also *DS Aen.* 2, 15, and *D Aen.* 2, 150: Hunc tamen equum quidam longum centum viginti: latum triginta fuisse tradunt, cuius cauda genua oculi moventur.

21. Tenedos: cignus filius neptuni ex proclea filios habuit theneten et dimeten . . . inde a tenete tenos dicta est. = *Monac.* 18059 (very similar in *T* and *Monac.*). *Cf.* Thilo, *ibid.*, n. 2, who cites Pausan., 10, 14, 1 ff. *Cf.* *D* p. 219.3.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. supra m.* 1 on *Ecl.* 8, 17; *Geor.* 1, 47; 4, 89, 514; *m.* 2. on *Geor.* 1, 47; 2, 130; 3, 519; *m.* 3 on *Geor.* 2, 514; 3, 305, 510.

<sup>2</sup> The question was first raised, I believe, by Thomson, *Jour. Phil.* XXXV (1920), p. 257. A good clue that we have here remnants of Junilius Philargyrius's commentary on Virgil is given by note of *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 1, 111 (*infra*, p. 144); *m.* 1 (= *SB*) on *Geor.* 4, 452 (p. 132, *supra*) and the same hand on *Aen.* 4, 281, to which *SB* refers and where there is no extant *S* or *D* scholium; *SB* and *E* on *Ecl.* 1, 49 and *m.* 5 on *Aen.* 2, 238 (p. 146, *infra*). This hypothetical *SB* exemplar of Virgil contained scholia on the *Aeneid* which are found in *T* as well as in two Munich manuscripts (6394 and 18059) which I have not seen. Excerpts are found in Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXXXV, n. 1. The first hand in *T* agrees with some of these notes in *Monac.* 18059; the fourth hand has much in common with *Monac.* 6394, as is shown by the note in that manuscript on *Aen.* 1, 458 (Thilo, *l.c.*): Ideo achilem vocat saevum ambobus quia inter illum et menelaum atque agamemnonem . . . discordia fuit. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Cod. *E* (f. 69a) has a similar note. The scholium, however, of *m.* 5 on the same lemma differs from this: Tenedos insula est prope Troiam (*cf.* *D* contra Ilium;



160. Tu modo: tantummodo, et est apostrophe ad civitatem. Cf. D p. 246.24; Don. *Eun.* 5, 8, 43 (1).

165. Adgressi: aggredior aliquando significat incipio, aliquando cum impetu conari aliquid, ut est hic. Cf. above, the scholia of the same hand (= SB) on *Ecl.* 4, 48 (p. 112) and 8, 103 (p. 115); *DS Aen.* 4, 92 and *app. crit.*, *ibid.* (= m. 1 and 5).

324. Summa dies: extrema et periculosa, ut est in verrinis, summo tempore reipublicae, id est periculoso.<sup>1</sup> Cf. D p. 273.11 (Ter.); Don. *Ad.* 2, 1, 42; *schol. Gronov. B.* on Cic. *Verr.* 1 (vol. II, p. 328 Stangl.); *Vaticanus* 3317 and *S Geor.* 4, 319 and 459; *S Aen.* 2, 453; 7, 49.

424. Illicet: statim. Cf. D p. 286.8: confestim, mox.<sup>2</sup>

440. Ruentis: festinantes. ruo aut significat cado, deicio aut festino. Cf. D (= T) *Aen.* 9, 513: Ruunt: deiciunt; D (= T) *Aen.* 12, 305; *DS Aen.* 12, 453 (Ter.); Don. *Ad.* 3, 2, 21 (1); 4, 2, 11 (3).

\*497. Exiit: erupit. Cf. Don. *Ad.* 4, 4, 18: Exeat: erumpat, ut (*Aen.* 2, 496-497).<sup>3</sup>

530. Premit: urget vel percutit. Cf. D p. 229.21, Non. 364.26.

531. Evasit: apparuit sive pervenit. Cf. *DS* p. 300.2 (Ter.); Don. *Andr.* 1, 1, 100 (1); 1, 2, 5 (2); *Phorm.* 1, 2, 61 (5); Non. 293.21: Evadere: apparere.<sup>4</sup>

LG Thomson, p. 111), ubi latuerunt greci, dicta a Tetne quodam troiano, qui cum troiam deseruisset ad illam insulam recessit. See Suidas II, p. 1070.20 Ber. and *Schol. Iliad.* 1, 38 Dind., for the information found in *Codd. T, E, and Monac.* In D, Tenes's sister is just mentioned by name.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lammert, *op. cit.*, p. 44: 'Quod . . . attinet ad scriptores apud Servium Danielis adhibitos. ii imprimis occurrunt, quos Donatus praeter ceteros commemorare solet, Plautus, Sallustius, orationes Ciceronis, praecipue Verrinae. . . .'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Don. *Phorm.* 1, 4, 30 (4-5); *Eun.* 1, 1, 9 (3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ender, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> In connection with the whole problem of Donatus and his commentary, it may be interesting to compare here two scholia, one from *Cod. E (Paris. lat. 7930)* and the other from *DS* on the same verse:

*Paris. lat. 7930*, f. 68b, *Aen.* 2, 13:

Fatique repulsi: . . . dicta autem est scaea porta a scenomate, id est cadavere laomedontis illic sepulto. e contra tria fata grecorum fuerunt, unum ut aliquis de genere eacis illo bello interesset, unde interfecto achille filius illius pyrrus adhuc puer convocatus est ad

*DS Aen.* 2, 13, p. 215.6:

Fatique repulsi: oraculis: ut est (6, 45) cum virgo poscere fata: secundum Plautum tribus, vita scilicet Troili, paladii conservatione, integro sepulchro Laomedontis, quo in scaea porta fuit, ut in Bacchidibus lectum est. Secundum alios vero pluribus: ut de Aeci

I come now to the notes written by the fifth hand on *Aen.* 1 and 2. Some of these scholia agree either with *Servius auctus* or with what fragments we possess of the commentary of Aelius Donatus on Virgil:

*Aen.* 1, 37. Haec secum: deest loquebatur. Cf. Don. *Ars Gram.*, 395.12: deest loquebatur; *S* p. 26.17: subaudimus locuta est.<sup>1</sup>

75. Pulchra prole: endiadin, pro pulchrae prolis. Cf. Don. *Phorm.* 1, 4, 102; *S* p. 42.10.

\*85. Una Eurisque Notusque et Africus: tres cardinales venti hic commemorat. eurus ipse est subsolanus ex terra orientis flans, notus vero meridianus ventus est; africus occidentalis quia ex terra africae, quae in occidente est, flat. Cf. *D* p. 45.13; *LG* 195.18: Eurus: subsolanus, Donatus. Notus: auster.<sup>2</sup>

110. Dorsum immane: superficies magna. Cf. *DS* p. 53.1; *LG*, Thomson, p. 101.

111. Terruit Auster euntes: id est ire volentes. Cf. *SB Ecl.* 6,3 (Junilius Flagrius).<sup>3</sup>

illud praelium et dictus est neoptolemus, quasi novus miles vel novus iuvenis, eo quod nunc primo militare ceperit. secundum, ut equi ressi tollerentur antequam pabula troie gustarent vel xantus fluvium biberint: quos diomedes et ulixes interfecto resso sustulerunt. tertium autem ut sagitte herculis interessent, quas philotetes transmisit cum ipse non posset deferre, praeventus morte: nam hercules moriens philote armigero suo eas commendavit. . . .

gente aliquis interesset, unde Pyrrhus admodum puer evocatus ad bellum est;

ut Rhesi equi tollerentur a Graecis;

ut Herculis interessent sagittae, quas misit Philoctetes, quibus Paris peremptus est, cum ipse non potuisset adferre morte praeventus.

The rest of the scholium in *Cod. E* agrees for the most part with *S* (*DS*) on *Aen.* 3.402 (p. 414.6 ff.) and the *D* scholium on this verse, p. 414.20: Alii eum (*i.e.* Philocteten) adductum a Graecis ad Troiam ad occidendum sagittis Paridem dicunt, quia etiam Paridis mors inter fatalia dicitur fuisse Troiana. Cf. also the addition to *S* above: quibus Paris peremptus est.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ender, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thomson, pp. 100, 172; Goetz, *Der Liber Glossarum*, p. 67; Isid. *Orig.* 13, 11, 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is a very important clue. *D* (p. 236.10) has . . . ire cupientes. There is a cross-reference in *SB* to this passage: Cum canerem: . . . canere vellem, ut ibi (*Aen.* 2, 111) . . . pro ire volentes . . . Iunilius Flagrius dicit.

\*140. In aula: in aula carcere ubi vos constricti estis, despective dicit. Cf. Don. *Eun.* 3, 1, 25 (2): mire extulit imperium, dicturus in beluas ut Vergilius (*Aen.* 1, 140-141); *S* p. 61.2: inrisio est.

172. Egressi: a mare. Cf. Don. *Hec.* 3, 4, 5 (2): . . . qui iam navigavit egressus dicitur, sic Vergilius (*Aen.* 1, 172).<sup>1</sup>

177. Cererem: frumentum. Cf. *D* p. 70.8; Don. *Ars. Gram.* 400, 7; *Eun.* 4, 5, 6.<sup>2</sup>

Cerealia arma: omnia instrumenta arma vocantur, unde pluraliter sicut hic inveniuntur. Cf. *D* p. 70.15; Isid. *Orig.* 18, 5, 1.

179. Et torrere parant flammis e. q. s.: Donatus dicit histeropronteron esse, id est ordinem permutatum . . . sed servius dicit non esse . . . deinde moluerunt. Cf. *S* p. 71.13; *D* p. 71.23; Don. *Ars. Gram.* 401.8; Don. *Ad.* 5, 3, 61 (1 and 2).<sup>3</sup>

181. Quem: vacat. Cf. *DS*, p. 73.2 et 7; Don. *Andr.* 1, 1, 28 (1); *Eun.* 1, 2, 5 (4).<sup>4</sup>

251. Infandum: scilicet scelus. est adverbium exclamative. Cf. *LG*, 212.2 (Donatus). See *infra*, p. 154.

253. Hic: yronicos. Cf. Don. *Phorm.* 2, 3, 78; *Ad.* 3, 2, 14; *S* p. 94.7.

529. Non ea vis animi: argumentum est ab impossibili, quia inquit victi sumus etiam si vellemus. Cf. *DS* p. 162.17; *D* p. 162.19; *DS Aen.* 4, 132; *S Aen.* 10, 857; 11, 148; *DS Aen.* 12, 386; *S Geor.* 1, 198 (Donatus).

543. Sperate: pro timete. acyrologia, impropria dictio. Cf. Don. *Ars. Gram.*, 394.28.<sup>5</sup>

559. Ore fremebant: hic non est pleonasmus, sicut Donatus dicit . . . fremere. Cf. Don. *Ars. Gram.*, 395.3 K; *S* (= *DS*), p. 170.24. Cf. *supra*, p. 108.

606. Honos: honos et honor idem est sicut labos et labor. Cf. *D* p. 180.3; *LG* 208.27.

744. Geminisque Triones: elycen et cinosuram dicit. Cf. *DS* p. 208.18.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nothing in Servius on *egressus*. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Ender, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 108. Tib. Cl. Donatus (I, p. 41.7 G) has a different note.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ender, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>5</sup> This scholiast has a similar note on *Aen.* 4, 419, to which Donatus, *l.c.*, refers. In *Cod. B* of Servius 'do' is written in the margin at this latter place.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 108.

*Aen.* 2, 3 Iubes: vis. indignum enim erat ut regina regi imperaret.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Don. *Andr.* 3, 3, 1 (2): Ferme aliquid iubere velle est; *S* p. 212.9; *DS Aen.* 3, 261, 12, 584; *S Aen.* 11, 218.

\*5. Miserrima vidi: pro maiori certitudine dicit se ea vidisse. Cf. Don. *Ad.*, 3, 1, 3: Docte duo proposuit quibus experientes scientes rerum sumus, videre et pati. Sic Vergilius (*Aen.* 2, 5) . . .;<sup>2</sup> *D* p. 212.16; *D Aen.* 4, 416: Est maior vis adfirmantis cum dicit 'vides' . . .

\*65. Accipe: accipe in hoc loco pro audi posuit, sicut alibi da pro dic. Cf. *D* p. 227.7; Don. *Eun.* 1, 2, 36 (5): Accepit simpliciter an audivit . . . ut (*Aen.* 2, 65); *Eun.* 3, 1, 11 (3); *Hec.* 4, 3, 1 (3); *S Ecl.* 1, 18; *DS Aen.* 1, 676;<sup>3</sup> *S Aen.* 6, 66.

66. Disce omnes: scilicet dolos, quia qualis iste fuit, tales omnes greci fuerunt. Cf. Don. *Ad.* 5, 1, 12; *Phorm.* 2, 1, 35.

149. Noster eris: verbum est regis refugam recipientis, reges enim quando captivum aliquem vita donabant, solebant illi dicere, noster eris. Cf. Don. *Hec.* 4, 2, 4: 'Noster' blandientis dictum est; *DS Aen.* 4, 213.

211. Sibila: pro sibilantia. Cf. *LG* 244, 23: Sibila ora pro sibilantia Sallustius . . .;<sup>4</sup> *S* p. 255.18.

212. Agmine certo: id est certo impetu. agmen hic pro impetu. Cf. *D* p. 256.1.<sup>5</sup>

\*235. Accinguntur: pro accinguntur vel accingunt se. Cf. *D* p. 258.30 (Ter.); Don. *Eun.* 5, 8, 46: . . . deest se ut (*Aen.* 2, 235) . . .; *Phorm.* 2, 2, 43; *S Aen.* 1, 210.

238. Feta: plena. Cf. *D* p. 259.7: Feta nunc plena ut in *Bucolicis* (1, 49) . . . alias enixa ut (*Aen.* 8, 630). . .<sup>6</sup>

255. Tacita lunae: tacitam lunam dicit vel quia luna, quae est ultima in musica celesti, utpote vicina terris, maximum sonum reddit, vel tacita, id est, parum luminis habens: septima enim erat tunc, vel

<sup>1</sup> This scholiast has a similar note on *Aen.* 5, 386 where there is no extant *S* or *D* comment.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra* on *Geor.* 4, 89, pp. 127-128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ender, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 70, who on account of the citation of Sallust would make this a Donatian note; Thomson, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *S, Aen.* 1, 82, 393, 436 *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *SB* and *E* on *Ecl.* 1, 49; *Vat. Geor.* 3, 176; *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 8, 630.



tacita pro eo quod est (*sic*) ipsi graeci taciti. Cf. *DS* p. 262.7; *DS Aen.* 3, 515; *D Aen.* 7, 343.<sup>1</sup>

\*286. Tempus erat quo prima quies: primam partem noctis describit quae conticium (*leg.* conticinium) vocatur. multae sunt partes noctis, sero, conticinium, a conticendo quando homines dormitum peragunt, intempestum, gallicinium. mane quod et crepusculum dicitur, id est dubia lux sicut sero. Cf. *S* p. 264.10 (Varro), Varro, *L.L.* 6, 5 f.; 7, 79: Putem a conticescendo conticinium, sive, ut Opilius scribit, ab eo cum conticuerunt homines;<sup>2</sup> *D Aen.* 3, 587;<sup>3</sup> *Isid. Orig.* 5, 31, 8: Conticinium est quando omnia silent.

311. Proximus ardet Ucalegon: ucalegon vicinus erat deiphobo. metonimia (*sic*) per id quod continetur id quod continet. Cf. *DS* p. 270.23; *Don. Ars Gram.* 400,<sup>4</sup> *Schol. Veron.* p. 423.14 H.

324. Ineluctabile tempus: eluctare est vincere vel superare: hinc et ineluctabilis res dicitur victa et superata. Cf. *D* p. 273.19; *C.G.L.* IV, 94.34; 92.26 (Abstr.)<sup>5</sup>

333. Stat: horret in hoc loco significat. Cf. *D* p. 275.11, *DS Aen.* 1, 646; 6, 22 (= *T*); *D Aen.* 12, 408 (= *T*).<sup>6</sup>

375. Itis: pro venitis, increpative. Cf. *Don. Ad.* 3, 3, 7 (2); *Eun.* 2, 3, 14; *S* p. 280.12: Itis pro venitis, ut . . . Terentius. . .<sup>7</sup>

554. Haec finis: haec finis feminino genere dicit, nam qui dicant de termino alicuius rei feminino genere dicit. de morte vero masculino sed nos indifferenter communi genere et de termino et de morte . . . Cf. *DS*, p. 302. 23; *D Geor.* 2, 324; *DS Aen.* 5, 783.

618. Sufficit: subministrat. Cf. *D* p. 310.20; *D* (= *T*) *Aen.* 5, 22; 9, 799; *S Geor.* 2, 424.

628. Usque: id est diu. Cf. *D* p. 311.20; *Don. Hec.* 2, 4, 9; *Ad.* 2, 2, 5.

775. Affari: id est affabatur. Cf. *D* p. 328.13.

<sup>1</sup> In the margin of *Cod. P* opposite this Servian scholium the letter 'D' is written.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Servius, though he cites Varro, does not give Varro's derivation of *conticinium*. In the margin of *Cod. P* the letters 'DM' and 'D' are written opposite the Servian note.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. P* has 'DM' here. See on the source of this note: Baehrens, *Cornelius Labeo atque eius commentarius Vergilianus*, 1918, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> In *Cod. Monac.* 6394 'don' is found opposite this verse, Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXXVI.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Thomson, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> *Cod. B* has 'Ioh. q' here.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Basore, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

The results of our examination of the scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid* may be summarized briefly. If we except the few interpretations introduced from Fulgentius, Tib. Cl. Donatus, Vegetius Renatus, Festus Paulus, and Nonius by the first hand,<sup>1</sup> the marginal scholia seem to have been derived from one or more commentaries on Virgil. These notes may have come from some manuscript of Virgil containing marginal and interlinear glosses similar to the published additional scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid*. Other notes appear to have affinities with some of the interpretations found among the Berne Scholia. This is especially the case with the annotations by the fifth hand (see p. 142, n. 2). The other scholiast, too, (as in the note on *Aen.* 1, 165 above) seems to have derived his interpretations from a manuscript containing scholia on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*<sup>2</sup> as well as on the *Aeneid*. To judge from the few instances here given, this seems to have been an articulated commentary in its original state and contained material not found in the extant manuscripts of *Servius auctus*.<sup>3</sup> The fifth scholiast has notes which often show such a close parallelism with what we know of Donatus's commentary from the extant fragments, that the question arises whether this scholiast was aware in his notes on *Aen.* 1, 179 and 559,<sup>4</sup> of the existence of a commentary by Donatus on Virgil or merely remembered his *Ars Grammatica* here. That the commentary of Donatus was the immediate or remote source of some of this scholiast's notes is, I think, clear from his annotations on *Aen.* 1, 85 (p. 144); 140 (p. 145); *Aen.* 2, 5, 65 and 235 (p. 146); 286 (p. 147).

Now let us turn to the scholia in our manuscript on the remaining books of the *Aeneid*, several of which are extant only in the *Turonensis*; these were first edited by Daniel as parts of a commentary other than

<sup>1</sup> I am not differentiating between the first and the fourth hands here.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 142, n. 2 above I have noted that there is no extant scholium on a passage in the *Aeneid*, referred to by an *SB* note on the *Georgics*, except that by the first hand.

<sup>3</sup> The gloss by the fifth hand on *Aen.* 1, 111 (p. 144 above) would seem to postulate an actual commentary by Junilius Flagrius (= Filargirius) differing to some extent from the *D* comment.

<sup>4</sup> On the other citation of Donatus by the fifth hand (on *Aen.* 4, 207), see below, p. 153, n. 4. The writer of the scholia (Liudramnus, see p. 106, n. 5) may well have worked over the notes of an earlier scholiast and have added his own without being aware of the existence of a commentary by Donatus except as it is cited by Servius.

DS.<sup>1</sup> Thilo, following Daniel, retained these scholia in his text of *Servius auctus*, adding, however, in his critical apparatus several others, especially those on the seventh book.<sup>2</sup> Daniel received into his text of *DS* two notes by the fifth hand: Thilo notices this discrepancy in one case (on *Aen.* 8, 171, p. 224.15 *app. crit.*); the other (on *Aen.* 7, 741, p. 191.7)<sup>3</sup> he overlooks and retains in his text. It may be well to discuss here some of the comments in order to determine, if possible, from what ancient commentary they seem to have been derived. I shall use for this purpose a few notes by the fifth hand which, as they sometimes contain information similar to that found in the other hands, may help us in our venture on the delicate problem of sources.

The scholium on *Aen.* 7, 464 (*cf.* Ps. Probus, *De ult. syll.* p. 263.20K.) may be independent of any ancient body of Virgilian interpretation, though Thilo's opinion (p. 160.5 *app. crit.*) that the *D* scholia and Ps. Probus are derived from a common source may point to such a commentary.

In the scholium on v. 517 the scholiast, being familiar, as we have noticed elsewhere with the commentary of Tib. Cl. Donatus,<sup>4</sup> has woven into his comment a passage (*dicunt . . . contingat*) from that commentator. The fifth hand omits this and adds just a trifle more (*ab uno meatu*) to the comparison:

<p><i>m.</i> 1 on <i>Aen.</i> 7, 517 p. 163.19.  Nar: . . . Sabini lingua sua dicunt sulphur. ergo hunc fluvium ideo dicunt esse Nar appellatum, quod odore sulphureo nares contingat, sive quod in modum narium geminos habeat exitus.</p>	<p><i>m.</i> 5, <i>ibid.</i>, p. 163.21 <i>app. crit.</i>  Nar fluvius est Italiae. Nar ideo nominatur quia ad similitudinem naris ab uno meatu oritur et in duo flumina dividitur.</p>
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That the valuable scholium on v. 610 (p. 172.9) is taken undoubtedly from some continuous and well articulated body of comment is shown by the words *quod iam supra dictum est* (l. 16). The interpreta-

<sup>1</sup> These are the additional interpretations of *Aen.* 7, 464, 517, 610, 612, 662, 682, 697, 735, 738, 740, 741 (2), 776, 779; *Aen.* 8, 171, 189.

<sup>2</sup> See *app. crit.*, on *Aen.* 7, 163, 139, 497, 568, 583, 612, 665, 675, 684, 693, 710, 724, 795, 800, 803, 817; on *Aen.* 9, 702; *Aen.* 12, 37, 49, 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. infra*, p. 151, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 140. The *DS* note here is extant also in *Cod. E* (*Paris. lat.* 7930) but without the interpolation found in *T*.

tion is not taken either from Macrobius (*Sat.* 1, 9, 11 ff.) or from Cicero (*N.D.* 2, 27, 67) but from some ancient commentary on Virgil. The cross-reference to *Aen.* 1, 294 is supported by the *D* note there (p. 109.13 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

The comment of our scholiast<sup>2</sup> on v. 612 furnishes us with one of the few instances where he writes out both *S* and *D* passages in his marginal annotations. If he has combined Servius and a hypothetical commentary (Donatus?) — a possibility not too remote, if the marginal glosses on the ninth century manuscript, *Paris. lat.* 7959, with the letters *D* or *DM* mean anything<sup>3</sup> — then he has not performed his task very well. If we compare the note by the fifth hand on the same lemma with this *DS* scholium, we may get an idea of what were the difficulties encountered by the compiler of the *DS* note:

*m.* 5, *Aen.* 7, 612, p. 173, *app. crit.*:

Gabii civitas est Campaniae ante cuius portas cum sacerdotes sacrificare vellent et detraherent pelles hostiarum, supervenerunt lupi et [raptis pellibus, *Thilo*] hostiarum coeperunt iterum fugere. tunc illi sicut erant nudi et expediti ad excoriandas hostias, raptis togis cinxerunt se illis, non valentes tam cito indui persecuti [sunt lupos, *Thilo*] et pelles hostiarum reportaverunt, et quia victoriam adepti sunt, talem habitum postea (?) in usu habuerunt ut sinistram partem obnuberent, dexteram vero exertam habent. . . .

*m.* 1, *ibid.*, p. 172.25:

'Gabinus cinctus' est toga sic in tergum reiecta, ut una eius licinia a tergo revocata hominem cingat. hoc autem vestimenti genere *veteres Latini cum necdum arma haberent, praecinctis togis bellabant: unde etiam milites in procinctu esse dicuntur. hoc rursus*<sup>4</sup> utebatur consul bella indicturus ideo quia, cum Gabii, Campaniae civitas sacris operaretur, bellum subito evenit: tum cives cincti togis suis ab aris ad bella profecti sunt et adepti victoriam: unde ortus est mos.

There would seem to have been two alternative solutions of the problem of *Gabinus cinctus* in the original *munus conlaticium*<sup>5</sup> of these interpretations. In one of these (followed by *m.* 5) the wolves

<sup>1</sup> There is a general similarity between the two notes on the meaning of the two faces of Janus.

<sup>2</sup> By "our scholiast" I mean either the first, fourth or sixth hands.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> The additional note of the compiler of *DS* is printed in italics.

<sup>5</sup> See the Epistle of Donatus to Munatius in *Paris. lat.* 11308 (*Vit. Verg., introd.*, p. vii, Br.). Cf. the *T* scholium on v. 662, which also savors of an original *variorum* comment.



were the object of pursuit; the other, which Servius followed, was found by the compiler (*m.* 1 or his source), in his hypothetical *vari-orum* commentary, and was, rather unsuccessfully, amalgamated by him with Servius's brief summary of the same original.

Two notes, one Servian on v. 678, the other a *T* note on v. 682, are interesting inasmuch as both are derived from some author who has taken the origins of the Italian cities as his theme. Cato (*Orig. frag.* II, 23 Jord.)<sup>1</sup> is cited by our scholiast. Servius in his note on v. 678 deals with the origin of the city of Praeneste. This comment too goes back to Cato's work, although Servius does not mention his source in this note.<sup>2</sup> Our scholiast cites Cato<sup>3</sup> again on v. 697 (p. 184.12), where Servius has a very brief note.

A formula, *quidam dicunt*, identical with that already noted in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, is used by the same scholiast on v. 735; a similar formula, *quidam ferunt*, is found in a note, unskilfully abbreviated by this interpreter or by his source, on v. 740 (p. 190.12). It is significant that Donatus himself wrote a note on King Muranus. We are told this by Servius himself, not in this place, but in his note on *Aen.* 12, 529 (p. 621.25). The *T* scholium on *Aen.* 7, 740 gives further information on this king. Did our scholiast have recourse to Donatus's commentary on Virgil for his information here?

Now we come to the scholium on *cateias* (v. 741). Homeyer,<sup>4</sup> discussing this note, concluded from a comparison between it and a similar note found in Servius (v. 730) and in Isidore (*Orig.* 18, 7, 7) that the *T* note is independent of these two. The comment in *T* on v. 776 furnished Isidore with his data for *Orig.* 5, 39, 4, as was shown by the same scholar.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *M. Catonis praeter librum de re rustica quae extant*, Leipzig, 1860. Cf. Festus P., 224. 4M.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *schol. Veron.* on *Aen.* 7, 681, p. 438.16 H. (= Catonis, *Orig. frag.* 2, 22 Jord.), Thilo, p. 181, *app. crit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Orig.* 2, 17 Jord.

<sup>4</sup> *De scholiis Vergilianis Isidori fontibus*, 1913, pp. 66-67. The scholium by the fifth hand (*Cateias: id est hastas. cateiae lingua Theotisca hastae dicuntur*) is received into the text by both Daniel and Thilo, neither of whom seems to have noticed that this is not the scholiast who furnished the additional notes elsewhere. Another note by the same hand on *Aen.* 8, 171 is included in the text by these editors.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

We will now examine some of the scholia found only in *T*, but relegated to the critical apparatus by Thilo. The note on *Aen.* 7, 139 (p. 135.27) is written by the fifth hand. The same scholiast has another comment of similar nature on the right margin. Part of this is illegible, but Hagen deciphered a passage (*Feretrius a ferendo . . . ferebatur*) which Thilo has printed in his apparatus.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fest. P. 92.1M: *Feretrius Iuppiter dicitur a ferendo, quod pacem ferre putaretur.*<sup>2</sup>

The fifth scholiast also wrote the note on v. 163. Thilo here does not distinguish the hands (p. 138). This scholium deals with the *ludus bellicus* of the Roman youth in the Campus Martius. Another note, not recorded by Thilo, is found on a related subject to the same verse. This, too, is by the fifth hand and is not without some value:

Domitantque in pulvere cursus: in epidromo erant. epidromus autem dicitur locus vacuus ante portam civitatis, tantum videlicet spatium terrae quo possit equus uno cursu fatigari.

We return to the first (fourth and sixth) hands in the scholia which Thilo has given in his critical notes on *Aen.* 7, 497 (p. 162.14); 568 (p. 168.8); 583 (p. 169.7); 795 (p. 196.1); 817 (p. 198.18); *Aen.* 9, 702 (p. 373.3). They all have the formulae *quidam intellegunt* (*dicunt*) or *a quibusdam accipitur*. One of these notes (on v. 583) might well be compared with scholia of a similar nature in Donatus's *Commentary on Terence*:

*m.* 1 *Aen.* 7, 583, p. 169.7 *app. crit.*:<sup>3</sup>

Ilicet: ultimam fortunae necessitatem significat apud veteres 'ilicet': nunc vero a quibusdam pro 'ilico' accipitur.

Don. *Phorm.* 1, 4, 30 (4):

Ilicet: semper 'ilicet' finem rei significat, ut 'actum est.'

Don. *Andr.* 3, 1, 7 (1):

Actum est: in summa rerum desperatione ponitur.

There is one fact which stands out prominently as a result of our critical analysis of the scholia peculiar to the *Turonensis*: in three scholia<sup>4</sup> only is Donatus (*i.e.* Aelius Donatus) mentioned as an au-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *app. crit.*, Thilo, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *S Aen.* 12, 206. See Roscher, *Ausführ. Lex. d. Myth.*, II, pp. 673-674 (Aust).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *D Aen.* 2, 424 (p. 286.8): Ilicet: confestim mox. sane apud veteres 'ilicet' significabat sine dubio 'actum est.' Cf. also Don. *Eun.* 1, 1, 9 (3), *Ad.* 3, 4, 4, *schol. Medic.*, *Aen.* 7, 583 in Suringar, *Hist. crit. schol. lat.* II, p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 108, for a transcript of these scholia and for the literature.

thority for an interpretation. Furthermore these three notes were written by one scholiast — the fifth one in our classification. Two of these have been discussed above.<sup>1</sup> The third note (on *Aen.* 4, 207) has recently attracted the attention of scholars. Thomson<sup>2</sup> and Wessner<sup>3</sup> are agreed that the scholiast did not obtain his information directly from Donatus: rather, they say, he seems to have recalled the observation of Servius on the same word *leneus* in his note to *Geor.* 2, 4, where Donatus's interpretation is not accepted: or the scholiast may have been familiar with the note of the *Brevis Expositio* of the *Georgics* on the same passage (Vol. III, p. 280.14).

Either of these explanations is possible: what is of prime importance, however, is the fact that this is the same scholiast who twice before has referred to Donatus as his authority for his interpretation. Of this fact neither Thilo nor any one of those who have more recently engaged in the study of Virgilian scholia was aware.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 108 and 145. Thomson's conclusion that "Daniel's additions come from a commentary which at most was a revised and corrected edition of Donatus" would be justified only on the supposition that the compiler of the *DS* note on *Ecl.* 8, 17 (*cf.* the *T* note by *m.* 1 above) and of the *D* note on *Aen.* 9, 672 (see below, p. 156) worked on rigid, scientific lines, never repeating what he found in Servius and always endeavoring to keep the true Donatian interpretation and not Servius's version of it. The phraseology of the scholiasts of *T* (*alii, praeter quam Servius . . .*) shows conclusively that they thought of the *D* scholia as a *supplement* to Servius. *Cf.* Rand, *Class. Quart.*, X (1916), p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 57-59.

<sup>3</sup> Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1921, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> There is a *D* note (from the Fleury codex) as well as the one just mentioned from the *Turonensis* on *Aen.* 4, 207. The latter scholiast mentions Donatus as his source, the former cites no authority, but if he is to be identified with the compiler of the *DS* scholia, he is consistent with his policy of never mentioning Donatus's name in his additional notes. Here are the two scholia side by side:

*D Aen.* 4, 207, p. 501.12.

Lenaenum: lenaeus ex calcatorio ἀπὸ τῆς ληνοῦ, hoc est a lacu.

*m.* 5., *ibid.* (f. 95b):

Lenaenum: leneus dicitur non a leniendo, sicut donatus dicit, sed apotissimum lenu, id est a lacu in quo premitur.

Barwick, *Philologus*, LXX (1911), p. 123, in discussing this note in *D* has shown that *ex calcatorio* is an evident gloss on the Greek words. *Cf.* the note of the third hand, p. 137 above, on *Geor.* 2, 529, where the scholiast glosses *leneus* with words similar to those of Donatus as given by Servius.

## IV. THE RELATION OF THE SCHOLIA TURONENSIA TO DONATUS

Relying on such facts as the above, it may be well for us to bring forward the more striking comments in which, other than those just mentioned, Donatus seems to have been the immediate or remote source of notes by the fifth hand. First we have two interpretations which agree with Donatus's comment as extant in the *Liber Glossarum*. In the case of the first of these the evidence could hardly be more conclusive, unless we are to suppose that this scholiast, being partial to Donatus's interpretation, obtained his data from that glossary. It will be observed, however, that our scholiast could in the other instances have derived his interpretations ultimately from either Donatus's *Ars Grammatica* or from Servius.

*m. 5 Aen. 1, 85, supra, p. 144:*

*LG 195.18:*

Una Eurusque Notusque et Africus:  
... eurus ipse est subsolanus . . .  
notus vero meridianus ventus est.

Eurus: subsolanus, Donatus. Notus:  
auster.

*m. 5 Aen. 1, 251, supra, p. 145:<sup>1</sup>*

*LG 212.2:<sup>2</sup>*

Infandum: scilicet scelus: est ad-  
verbium exclamative.

Infandum nota est adverbium, ut  
Donatus dicit.

*m. 5 Aen. 3, 56:<sup>3</sup>*

*S Geor. 1, 198 p. 177.14:*

Vi: violentia.

Vis humana: possibilitas . . . tamen  
verius est, ut 'vis' quasi violentia sit in  
rebus quae contra naturam vertuntur  
in melius: sic enim Donatus sensit, di-  
cens: nisi violentia fiat naturae omnia  
in deterius cadunt.

*m. 5 Aen. 6, 536:<sup>4</sup>*

*S Aen. 6, 535 p. 76.21:*

Aurora: id est sol. quando aurora  
cum curru depingitur, pro sole accipi-  
tur, sicut hic.

Hac vice sermonum: . . . quod  
autem dicit 'aurora medium axem  
traiecerat,' illud ostendit, quod secun-  
dum Tuscos diei ortus est a sexta diei  
hora; ortus enim diei habet auroram.  
Donatus tamen dicit Auroram cum  
quadrigis positam Solem significare.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Don. *Ars Gram.*, p. 385.25; 393.20; *S* p. 93.18; Servii (Sergii) *Comment. in Don.*, p. 438.35 K.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Goetz, *Der Lib. Gloss.*, p. 67; Thomson, pp. 104, 173; Ender, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *D* p. 346.3; *D Aen. 1, 270* and Bede, *De Orthogr.*, p. 293.33 K.

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation could of course have come directly from Servius. Another instance of this kind of preference on the part of this scholiast is given in his note on *Aen. 12, 365*, where he reads *Edonii* with Donatus as reported by Servius, p. 609.20.



There is still the possibility, however, that our scholiast may have merely a decided liking for the preferences of Donatus as given in the Glossaries and in Servius. Putting aside for the moment the question of the genuineness of the entire body of scholia on Terence attributed to Donatus, I should like to put side by side here for the sake of comparison two extracts from Donatus's commentary on Terence, a note from *Servius auctus* (the *D* part is italicized), and a note by the fifth hand on the same lemma:

<i>m.</i> 5 <i>Aen.</i> 4, 93:	<i>DS ibid.</i> , p. 480.5:	<i>Don. Eun.</i> 5, 2, 69 (2
Egregiam vero laudem:	Egregiam vero laudem:	and 3):
ironia est, et est cum quadam gravitate pronuntiantum, ne videatur affirmare quod negare contendit, quasi diceret, non refertis egregiam laudem.	ironia est, inter quam et confessionem sola interest pronuntiatio: et ironia est cum aliud verba, aliud continet sensus. <i>sane huius verbi initium tractum est, quia proprie egregium dicitur, quasi in grege amplissimum, quod emineret ex grege. singula autem hic pronuntianda sunt et morandum in singulis verbis; habent enim singula invdiam.</i>	Virgo vero: vero . . . nam ironia est ut 'Egregiam vero laudem.' <i>Don. Eun.</i> 5, 2, 55: Ego vero: vero modo consentientis est adverbium, alias coniunctio est, alias particula ironiam iuvans ut 'Egregiam vero laudem. . .'

It will be noticed that the phrase used by the fifth hand, *cum quadam gravitate pronuntiandum*, more closely corresponds with the directions given in the addition to Servius than it does with the slightly different comment in the Servian note itself.

These examples show at least that the fifth hand evinces a remarkable preference for the known interpretations of Donatus.

The next instance to be cited of the fifth hand's use of Donatus makes it clear that though he puts first Servius's choice of interpretation (that of Cornutus in preference to the one that Donatus favored) yet is not without giving Donatus's preferred explanation, *vel illis commissa ad custodiendum*, as an alternative. The compiler of *S* and *D*, on the other hand, accommodates himself to his basic Servian text — hence the *quod est melius*, referring to the stated preference of Servius:

*m. 5 Aen. 9, 672:*

Ducis imperio commissa:  
commissa, id est clausa.  
hinc et commissurae di-  
cuntur clausurae. aeneas  
preceperat eis antequam  
recederat ne aperirent illam  
portam, sed semper habere-  
tur clausa. hoc est quod  
dicit: commissa imperio  
ducis, vel illis commissa ad  
custodiendum.

*m. 1 ibid.:<sup>1</sup>*

Commissa: clausa sive  
commisa (*sic*) illis ut clausa  
teneretur.

*D ibid., p. 370.2:*

Ducis imperio commissa:  
aut quae eis fuerat com-  
missa imperio absentis Ae-  
neae: aut quod est melius,  
quae imperio Aeneae fuerat  
commissa, id est clausa:  
unde et commissurae di-  
cuntur coniunctiones tabu-  
larum. secundum superi-  
orem sensum contrarium est  
quod dicit 'rectores . . .  
magistros.' Aeneas enim  
abscedens principibus om-  
nium rerum commiserat  
curam. alii . . . alii . . . sane  
'commissa' deest 'sibi' vel  
'illis.'

*S ibid. p. 370.2:*

Ducis imperio commissa:  
. . . hunc locum male in-  
tellexit Donatus, dicens,  
commissam portam, id est  
creditam, Pandaro et Bi-  
tiae: qui duces non erant.  
Cornutus vere et melius  
sensit, dicens, portam quae  
ducis imperio commissa fue-  
rat, hoc est clausa, eam  
aperuerunt. Commissura  
enim dicitur tabularum con-  
iunctio, sicut Cicero in  
Fundaniana meminit. ergo  
melius est ut commissuram  
dicamus clausam, quam  
creditam Pandaro et Bitiae.

It has been already noted above (p. 147 on *Aen. 2, 268*) that the fifth scholiast seems to have had before him a commentary fuller than that of Servius. In the instance just mentioned Varro's own derivation of *conticinium* is given by this scholiast, whereas Servius merely refers to Varro without giving the citation.

To eliminate all possibility that our scholiast obtained his information from an extant Latin author, I will cite next one long scholium by this hand which seems to leave no doubt that he had access to a comment here which seems itself to have been the common source for the *D* and the *S* interpretation to this lemma:

*m. 5 Aen. 3, 209 (f. 83b):*

Strophadum me litora:  
phyneus rex thraciae di-  
citur, qui suis filiis novercam  
superduxit, quae instinctu  
illos oculis privavit suis:  
quare irati dii immiserunt  
eis pestilentiam arpiarum,  
quae cibos illius et . @ .

*D ibid., p. 379.5:*

Phineus, Agenoris filius  
Thracum rex, vel ut quidam  
volunt Arcadiae, Cleopa-  
tram, Aquilonis et Ori-  
thylae filiam, habuit uxo-  
rem et ex ea duos filios qui-  
bus superduxit novercam,  
quos noverca ad patrem pyias.

*S ibid., p. 379.2:*

Strophadum me litora:  
Phineus rex fuit Archadiae.  
hic suis liberis superduxit  
novercam, cuius instinctu  
eos caecavit. ob quam rem  
irati dii ei oculos sustule-  
runt et adhibuerunt har-  
pyias. quae cum ei diu

<sup>1</sup> The note of *m. 1* seems to have been influenced by that of the fifth scholiast. This scholium seems to have been overlooked by Thilo. That the commentary of Servius was used by *m. 5* as well as by *m. 1* is indicated by the annotations of the former on *Aen. 1, 179*; see p. 145 above.

ibi preparatas aut devorabant aut turpi ventris proluvio foedabant. cumque ille tali peste diu afflictus fame periret, consuluit apollinem, qui transmisit ei duos alatos iuvenes, zetum et calain, qui arpias persequerentur, qui persequi sunt eas usque ad has insulas, ibique accepto responso ut cessarent a persecutione arpiarum coeperunt iter convertere: unde et strophadae dictae sunt a conversione. duorum iuvenum, quae antea plocae dicebantur. strophe enim graece dicitur convertere. . . .

tamquam stupri adfectores detulit: ob quam rem eos Phineus caecavit quare irati dii, vel ut quidam volunt, Aquilo veneno propter nepotum iniuriam eum caecavit et ad pelagias insulas detulit adposuitque harpyias.

cibos abriperent, Iasonem, cum Argonautis propter vellus aureum Colchos petentem, suscepit hospitio: cui etiam ductorem dedit. hoc ergo beneficio inlecti Argonautae Zethum et Calain, filios Boreae et Orithyiae, alatos iuvenes, ad pellendas harpyias miserunt: quas cum strictis gladiis persequerentur pulsas de Arcadia, pervenerunt ad insulam quae appellabatur plotas et cum ulterius vellent tendere, ab Iride admoniti ut desisterent a Iovis canibus, suos converterunt volatus: quorum conversio, id est *στροφή*, nomen insulis dedit. quod Apollonius plenissime exequitur. . . .

Our scholiast, like the writer of the *D* note, makes Phineus king of Thrace. The rest of the fifth scholiast's note has closer correspondences with *S* than with *D* owing to the fact that *D* brings forward two alternative (. . . *vel ut quidam volunt* . . .) interpretations. Where does our scholiast get his information about Phineus consulting Apollo? The words of Servius give us the clue perhaps: *quod Apollonius plenissime exequitur*. Indeed our interpreter has followed Apollonius<sup>1</sup> in making Phineus king of Thrace instead of Arcadia, as Servius holds. The words of Apollonius on the oracle which declares that Phineus shall be rescued from the harpies by the sons of Boreas are unmistakable.<sup>2</sup> That Phineus was a priest of Apollo is a fact also found in Apol-

<sup>1</sup> See Baehrens, *Studia Serviana*, pp. 104-106: Apollon. 2, 178 and 238. Cf. the extract from the *Liber Glossarum* published by Thomson, p. 119, which agrees with our scholiast and with *D* in making Phineus king of Thrace.

<sup>2</sup> Apollonius 2, 234, of the harpies:

τὰς μὲν θέσφατόν ἐστιν ἐρητῦσαι βορέαιοι  
νῆας.

lonius,<sup>1</sup> whose epic of course could not have been read by our scholiast. Servius has omitted these two Apollonian touches.

Another *disiectum membrum* of this common source of *S* and *D* is probably adumbrated in the following scholium by the fifth hand on *Aen.* 6, 844. There is no extant *D* note here — a fact which makes it possible to show how Servius probably went about the business of condensing his source:

*m.* 5, *Aen.* 6, 844:

Fabricium: iste fabricius consul romanorum fuit sua paupertate laudabilis; ad quem cum venisset aliquando legati samnitum et detulissent ei magna pondera auri, volentes pacem facere cum romanis et suam captivitatem recipere, invenerunt eum sedentem ad mensam parvissimam et ante se salinum,<sup>2</sup> id est vas fictile, in quo sal mittitur et vas aquae, ille vero respuit aurum, dicens, romani nolunt aurum habere, sed habentibus imperare.

*S ibid.*, p. 118.24:

Fabricium: paupertate gloriosum, hic est qui respondit legatis Samnitum aurum sibi offerentes,

‘Romanos non aurum habere sed aurum habentibus imperare.’

There are two important scholia in *Cod. E* which seem to have been derived ultimately from some commentary on Virgil. One of these *inedita* forms the conclusion of a note which corresponds closely with that of Servius on the same verse: this suggests a *DS* scholium surviving only in this codex. The second scholium has no analogue in Servius and, if genuine, is highly important inasmuch as the name of the poet Naevius occurs in a matter of Virgilian interpretation to

<sup>1</sup> Apollonius 2, 180 and 216. The scholiast, however, may have been familiar in this instance with Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 4, 445 and 468.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horace, *Od.* 2, 16, 13 (of Fabricius?):

Vivitur parvo bene, cui patrum  
splendet in mensa tenui salinum.

See also Val. Max., 4, 4, 3; Pliny, *N. H.*, 33.12. These authors, however, could not have supplied all the information given by our scholiast. The Montpellier manuscript (*Montepess.* 253 = *M*) contains a fuller account of the same Fabricius: Gneus fabricius [Iusclinus] virtute magnus nobilis fuit. hic pirrum regem epirum sevientem in romanos et populantem ita . . . bello superavit nec voluit auri pondera mille accipere ne desisteret, nec medico pirri poscenti praemium ut veneno eum levaret consentit. ob hoc et alia praeclara facta egregium tradidit. The note is partly illegible.



which there is no reference elsewhere in the extant body of scholia dealing with the Roman poet.

*Cod. E* (f. 116a), *Aen.* 6, 119: Si potuit manes: orpheus secundum fabulas descendit ad inferos ad revocandam animam coniugis. re autem vera quibusdam carminibus voluit revocare animam coniugis sive, quod quia implere non potuit, fingitur a poetis receptam perdidisse dura lege plutonis: quod iste ostendit cum dicit arcessere, id est evocare. dicunt tamen quidam liram orphei cum VII cordis fuisse, et celum habet VII zonas, unde teologia assignatur. varro autem dicit librum orfei de vocanda anima liram nominari, et negantur animae sine cithara posse ascendere.<sup>1</sup>

The words "Orpheus secundum fabulas . . . id est evocare" reproduce the note of Servius fairly accurately. The citation from Varro, as far as I am aware, does not occur elsewhere in Latin literature.

*Cod. E* (f. 129b), *Aen.* 7, 122-123: Genitor mihi talia. . . Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit: hoc autem non praedixit anchises, sed celeno: unde vel catatosiopomenon intellegendum est vel divinitatem anchise assignat, qui ubique divinus dicitur. nevi<sup>u</sup>s enim dicit venerem libros futura continentes anchise dedisse: unde reliquit aut ma<sup>g</sup>davit (*sic*) significat, aut libros reliquit qui haec responsa continebant.<sup>2</sup>

I will now consider the manuscripts (*M* and *E*) which of those discussed in this paper seem to have been most influenced by the scholia peculiar to the *Turonensis*, in order to determine, if possible, whether they give any support to an hypothesis of a distinctively Donatian

<sup>1</sup> For the association of inspired books with tombs, see J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa*, London and New York, 1906, p. 121. Remigius of Auxerre (*infra*, p. 162) was interested in the myth of Orpheus. See *Myth. Vat.* III, 8, 21, cited by O. Gruppe in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lex. d. Myth.*, col. 1164.

<sup>2</sup> The whole subject of prophecy in the Greek and Latin epic has been very capably handled by C. H. Moore, "Prophecy in the Ancient Epic" in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXII (1921), pp. 99-175. See especially for what concerns prophecy in the *Aeneid*, pp. 136-137. Miss Sanders' critique of the third *Aeneid*, *Class. Quart.*, XIX (1925), pp. 87 f., is very pertinent here.

There is another scholium which I cannot refrain from citing here, if only to draw the attention of scholars to the question of its genuineness. It is to be found in fol. 120a on *Aen.* 6, 375: Eumenides dicuntur furiae per contrarium, quae quamvis vulgatis nominibus utantur, tamen propria nomina habent. nominantur autem his nominibus: agmentis, pecmentis, furina. This looks like a bit of ancient Italic lore transmitted by Varro.

tradition in the manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. The more notable of these is *Paris. lat. 7930 (E)*, which contains the life of Virgil by Donatus. This commentator is not mentioned as an authority for any interpretation in the scholia of this manuscript, excepting of course in those places where Servius supplies information of Donatus's opinions on controversial matters. There are two places, however, where the name Donatus is found heading a note. These are the notes on *Ecl.* 2, 70 and on *Aen.* 6, 893. The scholium which follows "Donatus" in the first of these instances is similar to the note which Thilo (p. 28) prints in his apparatus from Masvic's edition and also to the Servian note in the same place. In the second instance just mentioned there are three notes altogether: the first is headed "Servius"; the second is preceded by "Donatus" in large letters; the third note has no heading. The curious thing about these notes is that the one ascribed apparently to Donatus follows more closely the Servius of the vulgate codices than does the scholium headed "Servius." None of the scholia, however, presents anything new, as might be expected from such a subject as the signification of the *porta cornea* or the *porta eburnea*. A commentary on the sixth *Aeneid* fuller than that supplied by the manuscripts of Servius or of *Servius auctus* was at hand for the scholiasts of the Montpellier codex and for the scholiast of the *Turonensis*, whom I have placed fifth in my classification in this paper. This is shown by the notes of both *T* and *M* on Fabricius (p. 158 above with n. 2).

The Paris manuscript is nearer the archetype of all our *DS* codices than is either the *Floriacensis* or the *Turonensis* — hitherto regarded as our chief authorities for the additional scholia on *Aen.* 3-12. This is confirmed by three different instances of the superiority of a codex which in general shows a revamping or simplification of more ancient scholia. First, the two important scholia just given, citing Varro and Naevius, are extant only in *E*; secondly, this manuscript contains an additional note, hitherto regarded as existing only in *T* (on *Aen.* 7, 517, p. 149 above), without, however, the interpolation from Tib. Cl. Donatus found in the *Turonensis*; lastly, *Cod. E* is the only manuscript containing *DS* scholia that retains the true reading (*cureas, codd., curetis, E*) in the *D* note on *Aen.* 3, 108 (p. 361.2).

To make it all the more probable that these *inedita* from *Cod. E*

come from some ancient commentary on Virgil, probably that of Aelius Donatus, I will cite another unpublished scholium from the Montpellier manuscript (*M*) which, too, shows influence of the scholia peculiar to the Virgil of Tours, placing beside it the corresponding note of Servius who quotes Donatus:

*Cod. M* (f. 131a) on *Aen.* 6, 623:<sup>1</sup>

Vetitosque hymenaeos: cynuram dicit, qui filiam suam mussam (*leg. murrum*) ira veneris accensus incestavit strupravit (*sic*), ex qua adonis natus est, aut thiesten qui filiam pelopiam compressit. tangitur hic et cicero; dicitur enim nimis filiam suam dilexisse.

*S Aen.* 6, 623:

Hic thalamum invasit natae: Thyestes, unde Aegisthus natus est, item Cinyras: nam quod Donatus dicit nefas est credi, dictum esse de Tullio.

There are other scholia<sup>2</sup> in the Montpellier manuscript which suggest as their source some ancient commentary on Virgil other than that which has survived in the compilation known as *Servius auctus*. There can be only one conclusion, I believe, from a comparison of the notes given above from *Cod. M* and from the vulgate Servian codices on *Aen.* 6, 623: fragments of the commentary of Donatus on Virgil have filtered through manuscripts other than those hitherto regarded

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Cod. Dresden.*, Thilo, p. 88.4 *app. crit.*; *D Aen.* 5, 72; *D Ecl.* 8, 37; 10, 8; *Myth. Vat.* I, 22; II, 147. Cf. also Baehrens, *Studia Serviana* (1917), pp. 1-2, 33-34, where the source of *ira Veneris accensus* is shown to be Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3, 14, 4. The scholiast of the Montpellier manuscript knows of a tradition other than that of Servius on Virgil. In a note on *Ecl.* 2, 24, I find the phrase *quod aliter protulit servius*. There the scholiast agrees more with *Myth. Vat.* II, 74 than with either *SB* or the *Brevis Expositio*.

<sup>2</sup> See above (p. 158) for the note of this manuscript on Fabricius. Immediately following this is an interesting comment on Serranus, with which the Servian note on the same subject may be compared. One may see at a glance how much more complete the Montpellier comment is:

*Cod. M* (f. 134b), *Aen.* 6, 844:

Serrane serentem: marcus serranus saterius, patricia ortus familia, omnibus defunctus honoribus, ruri se contulit, ibique rusticano operi se dedit. cum autem deesset rex romanorum, adversum samnites bellum gerentibus dictator est factus missique sunt qui eum accerserent: quem invenerunt nudum serentem, ideo serranus nominatus est.

*S ibid.*, p. 118.26:

Serrane serentem: Atilius quidam senator fuit, qui cum agrum suum coleret, evocatus propter virtutem

meruit dictaturam. Serranus autem a serendo dictus est.



by the editors of Servius as being the sole repositories of the very important additions to that commentator.

I have already discussed <sup>1</sup> the marginalia in *Paris. lat. 7959 (P)* and their bearing on the question of the possible existence of the commentary of Donatus on Virgil for the writer of the additional notes to that codex. The precise signification of the marginal references to Donatus in *Bern. 363 (B)* cannot be definitely determined.<sup>2</sup> There are other marginal annotations, however, which may have some bearing on the problem of the provenance of this Virgilian commentary by Donatus and its fate in the early Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

Remigius, the pupil of John the Scot,<sup>4</sup> is cited several times in the collection known as *Mythographi Vaticani*, which is devoted chiefly to the allegorical interpretation of myths, many of which are taken from Servius and from the additional scholia of Daniel. Remigius wrote numerous commentaries on authors read in the schools. Did he write one also on Virgil? There are several references in *Cod. E* to the *carmen paschale* of Sedulius, to which Remigius wrote a commentary still extant.<sup>5</sup> In *Myth. Vat.* 11, 8, 5, there is a long note on the meaning

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 104. Note, however, that in the margin opposite the Servian comment on *Ecl.* 9, 54 in *Cod. B*, the reference seems to have been to Donatus's commentary on Terence, for *Cod. E* has a note here citing Terence, *Ad.* 4, 1, 21, *lupus in fabula*, for the meaning of which see Donatus's commentary on this passage. For the provenance of this commentary, see C. H. Beeson, *Class. Phil.*, XVII (1922), p. 289 f., where he shows that the manuscripts go back to an Insular archetype.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus, *Hist. Longobard.*, II, 23, cites a *Donatus grammaticus* who wrote an *expositio Vergilii*. See Thilo, *praef.*, p. LXXXV; Mommsen, *Neues Archiv*, V (1880), p. 55. Thomson, p. 58, has concluded, as a result of his study of the glossaries, that the compiler of the *DS* scholia omitted parts of the fuller commentary in the process of fusing the two comments.

<sup>4</sup> See E. K. Rand, "Der Kommentar des Iohannes Scottus zu den Opuscula Sacra des Boethius," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* I, 2, pp. 80, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in Huemer, *Sedulii opera*, appendix. Cf. among others the definition of *situs* in Huemer, p. 325, with the following note from *Cod. E* on *Aen.* 7, 440:

Situs est proprie lanugo terrae quae nascitur in locis soli inaccessibilibus, sed hic pro lanugine quae nascitur in auribus senium: et in sedulio de sara accipitur.

The commentary of Remigius on the *Bucolics* is probably to be found in *Valentian.* 377, s. X, ff. 55-90, according to Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1911, p. 515.



of *tripos* in which this mediaeval commentator is cited. The scholium in *Cod. E* on *Aen.* 6, 347 follows this closely. There is a briefer note but of the same tenor in the commentary on Martianus Capella attributed to Iohannes Scottus in *Paris. lat.* 12960 (f. 107b). The fifth scholiast in *T* has a similar note on *cortina* in commenting on *Aen.* 3, 92 (f. 81b). Servius was undoubtedly one of the sources of the commentary of Remigius on Virgil, which, I believe, there is good reason for holding, exists at least in part in *Paris. lat.* 7930.<sup>1</sup>

Did Iohannes Scottus write a commentary on Virgil? Our manuscript contains a note at the very beginning of the first book of the *Aeneid*<sup>2</sup> which leaves one to infer that part at least of the marginal commentary that follows in the *Turonensis* is influenced both in matter and in method of presentation by a Virgilian commentary of that ninth-century teacher and philosopher. There is an interesting reference to Boethius in a note by the fifth hand on *Aen.* 5, 117 which has its exact counterpart in the commentary on the *Opuscula Sacra*

<sup>1</sup> Servius is cited in the Remigian note on *tripos* in the *Myth. Vat.* and throughout the commentary in *Cod. E*. Instances of borrowings from the *D* scholia by the scholiast or scholiasts of this codex have been noticed already in this paper. Remigius makes use of the *D* scholium on *Aen.* 6, 733 in his comment on Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. See H. F. Stewart, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, XVII (1915), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 54a: *salva interim expositione servii enodemus VII periochas secundum iohannem scottum, utentes proprietate achiui sermonis. hae enim debent requiri in capite uniusquisque auctoris vel libri . . . his breviter explanatis, enucleemus septem periochas secundum servii expositionem, quae studiose debent requiri.*

I have noticed a similar introduction in *Paris. lat.* 8069, an eleventh-century codex. The reference to John the Scot is on fol. 6a. The manuscript contains miscellaneous matter and has been used by Vollmer, "P. Vergilii Maronis iuvenalis ludi libellus" in *Sitz. kön.-bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., philos.-phil. u. hist. Klasse*, 11 Abhandl., 1908. Vollmer noticed that the first six folia do not belong to this manuscript. There is a list of books belonging to a certain Dominus F. given on fol. 1a, which is interesting inasmuch as the list concludes with the names of four books all apparently having to do with Virgil:

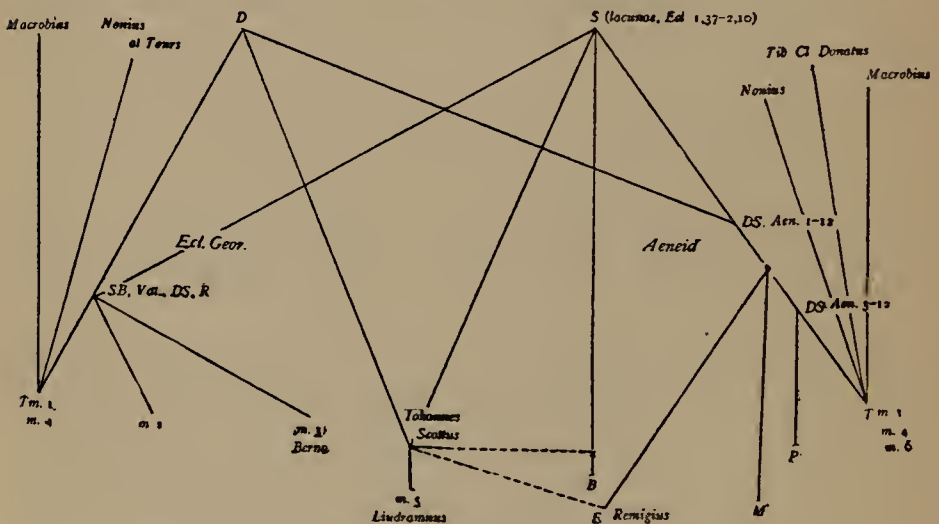
Virgilius. Dialectica. Commentum Donati. Foca.

The commentary of Donatus referred to here may of course have been that of Tib. Cl. Donatus, though the *Dialectica* mentioned before it could, perhaps, refer to that author. *Cod. Monac.* 18059 has a note on John the Scot similar to that found in *T* and in the Paris manuscript just cited. The second *Vita Gudiana* of Virgil (p. 62, Brummer) enumerates the seven *periochae* of Iohannes with answers to each.

of Boethius by Iohannes Scottus, brought to light and published in 1906 by Rand.<sup>1</sup>

The whole question as to the possible existence of commentaries on Virgil, written by John the Scot and by his pupil Remigius of Auxerre cannot be discussed satisfactorily within the limits of this paper, which has primarily to do with the scholia in the *Turonensis*. Neither can the many interesting scholia found in *Paris. lat. 7930 (E)* and in *Montepessulanus 253 (M)* be treated here other than as subsidiary to the problem which had to be faced under many disguises in the process of examining the marginal annotations in *T*, — the problem of the fate of the commentary on Virgil by Aelius Donatus in the early Middle Ages. There is room, therefore, for a more complete study of the contents of these manuscripts; part of this task (that dealing with the scholia in *E*) the writer hopes to undertake in the near future.

In conclusion I will now venture to propose a stemma, as a summary of the results to which my investigation has pointed:



<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 31. The note in *T* is as follows:

Memmi: familia memmiorum, dicta est apso (*sic*) primo mnesteo, de qua familia fuit symmachus, socer boetii.

On Boethius, *De Trinitate*, I, p. 149,1 P, Iohannes Scottus comments thus:

Memmius: dictus quod fuerit de familia Mnesthei principis Troianorum: hinc Virgilius (*Aen.* 5, 117): Genus a quo nomine Memmi.



[illegible]



E undit humo facile uictu iustissimatus  
 S thoningente foribus domus alta superbis  
 Manes salutarum totis omnis adibus unda  
 N etuamio lophiane pulcherrima fundine potest  
 Uluasq; aurouetis sphire que vera sine dolo  
 N lbanisq; asis mofucatur lanuuenepo  
 N etca fia liquidu contupitur uisulolui ola  
 N tsecura quiescenesia falleret uia  
 D ues opu uariarum latetia fundis  
 S petynca uiniq; latusat frigidate pe  
 Mugtuq; boui molitq; sub arbore somni  
 onab su illis aluacul traferaru  
 E tpaten sopetru ex quoq; ad sueta uiuentis  
 IET IN DO - remora do obliqua 4 latoru dno 4/4 2/4 3/4 4/4 5/4 6/4 7/4 8/4 9/4 10/4 11/4 12/4



raecepitane senis et glacie, niger totidibarb, dicitur t qd cano sic ex multitudine  
 H seprimum paribus niten s et llenius alis.  
 C onstat hinc totopraecepti s et oporeadundat  
 M ista uisimili quae circumlitoracircum  
 iscosas scopulos. humilis uolazaequora iuxta  
 H audaliter, terrarum inter caelum que uolabat.  
 itus uenosa adhibent osq; scabebat.  
 aeterno uenens ab aucto cillenius proles.  
 tprimum aliter tigit magis aluaplanis.  
 enean fundantem arces a saecula nouam  
 onspicit atq; illustellatus a spide filius  
 ni: foras t quoque ardebat murice lena  
 emissa exumeris ducit q; munera adido  
 ecerat et tenui telala diceret aurei

PLATE II. Codex Bernensis 105, f. 96 b.  
 Virgil, Aen. 4, 251-264.





[illegible]

2. From what is said before—

to the other group of 2000

1777

二

3

could not be proved.

0 - covered by a black ink

2

9

by 'Victorians' - 1840-1850

*Salmagundi*

*[Faint handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]*

• 111

1

I was in the room with her.

Handwritten text: H

15

[illegible]

*Foodery, belly*

tu solatur iuli;

not respondent

189  
bar  
ci dicor  
189  
bar  
ci dicor

szobalumine-terrasz

*Synabus eff.*

*Gnae submoenibus*

...trique parabant,

his communibus  
auctoritate

cont. We have a number of

[illegible]

as principum omni

Little Jimmy

*noquã faspemant*

[illegible]

*Bernensis* 165, f. 206 b.



## WHO WAS THE ΤΗΕΚΚΑΤΣΤΡΙΑ AT SOLI?

BY WILLIAM REGINALD HALLIDAY

THIS is the third conundrum in the *Greek Questions* of Plutarch (292A). The answer, which he gives, is perhaps more perplexing than is usually supposed. "They call the priestess of Athena thus, because she performs certain sacrifices and religious rites for the aversion of evil."

Which Soli is meant cannot be said to be certain, though the balance of probability lies in favour of the peer of Paphos and Salamis. *Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, Πάφον ἡδὲ Σόλους Σαλαμῖνά τε* (Aeschylus, *Persae*, 891). The text of Plutarch reads *παρὰ Σόλοις* but this, as Wyttenbach pointed out, demands correction either to *παρὰ Σολίους* or to *παρὰ Σολεῦσι*, "nam si *in urbe Solis* volebat, scripsisset *ἐν Σόλοις*." Of the two emendations *παρὰ Σολίους* is clearly the preferable and, though Greek practice seems not to have been wholly consistent in the matter,<sup>1</sup> this form of the ethnic favours Soli in Cyprus rather than the home of solecism in Cilicia. *Καί εἰσι οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν Σολεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σόλιοι*, Diogenes Laertius, *V. Solon.*, 4.

Now *ὑπεκκαύστρια* is, of course, a quite possible, though it is a unique Greek word. A variant form of it *ὑπερκάϋστρα* is given by Hesychius, who glosses it simply as "the priestess of Athena." *Ὑπερκάϋστρα*, however, can hardly be a Greek word and, in consequence, the Hesychian variant, since Dindorf, has simply been dismissed as a mistake due to manuscript corruption, the error of the ever convenient copyist.

If the word is Greek in origin, it must mean 'she who lights a fire from underneath' or 'the kindler.' *Ὑπέκκαυσις*, so the *Thesaurus* tells us, is used by Methodius in the metaphorical sense of 'a kindling' or a 'provoking to.' *Ὑπέκκαυμα* means 'fuel' or 'combustible matter,' 'kindling' in the substantival or housewife's sense.

Such a title as 'kindler' was, I think, unusual in Greek cult. I can

<sup>1</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus, *s.v.* Σόλοι: *Κιλικίας πόλις . . . ὁ πολίτης Σολεὺς καὶ Σόλιος, τὸ θηλυκὸν Σολουνίς, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Σολοῦς Σολοῦντος.*

recall no close analogy, although it does not follow that, because it is an unusual kind of title, it is therefore ungentle. Indeed, Plutarch is not likely to have chosen as a curiosity demanding comment a title of a common type. But with regard to its unusual character it is perhaps worth pointing out that the analogy of the Roman *flamen*, to which a pencilled note in my text betrays that I once fell a victim, is no longer at our service, if it be true that "the real derivation is probably from the root appearing in Gothic *blotan*, to honour, Icelandic *blótgode*, pagan priest; not from *flare*."<sup>1</sup>

Is there any reason then why a priestess of Athena should be called 'the kindler'? The implication of Dr. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, I, p. 277, note a) is a singularly unhappy suggestion. The well-known cult of Athena at Rhodes was unique in that 'fireless sacrifices' were made to the goddess, a fact so remarkable that the legendary explanation of it (Diodorus Siculus, 5, 56), to which Pindar in a well-known passage (*Ol.*, 7, 48) refers, was widely familiar throughout the Greek world. In other cults of Athena, as in the normal worship of all Olympian deities, sacrifices were *ἐμπύρα*. Now obviously the reason for an abnormal title is likely to be found not in normal but in abnormal ceremonies. We could understand the Rhodians calling their priestess 'an offerer of fireless sacrifices,' but it is difficult to see why the people of Soli should have exceptionally called theirs a 'kindler,' because the normal mode of sacrifice to Athena in all parts of the Greek world, except Rhodes, was by fire.

But surely, too, this suggestion misses the point of Plutarch's explanation in which any ordinary reader would naturally lay the emphasis on *ἀποτροπαίους*. This, for instance, Xylander's Latin translation quite correctly does: quod auerruncandorum malorum gratia certis quibusdam sacris operatur. She is called *ὑπεκκαύστρια* not because she is a priestess of Athena who performs apotropaic rites, but because she is a priestess of Athena who performs apotropaic rites. Two questions then arise and neither of them is so easy as it looks. (1) What appropriateness or connection has this title with mystic, chthonic, or kathartic ritual? (2) Is ritual of this kind characteristic of all or any of the cults of Athena?

With regard to the first of our questions, I very much doubt if any

<sup>1</sup> Rose, *Plutarch's Roman Questions*, p. 180.



satisfactory answer can be obtained upon the assumption that we are dealing with a genuine Greek word derived from καίω. *Prima facie* it might seem otherwise. We shall be told that there are several technical terms derived from καίω which properly and specifically belong to chthonic ritual. Apart from ὀλοκαύτωμα, we are reminded by Lobeck, in a passage which will further claim our attention below (p. 173), that καυστός, καυτός is a technical term for the victim which was completely consumed with fire in sacrifices to powers of the underworld. Since *Aglaophamus* was written, epigraphical evidence has confirmed the statements of the lexicographers.<sup>1</sup> Κατακαύτης, again, means one who burns up the bodies of the dead (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 21, 296, B).

But there is a vast difference between ὀλο- or κατα- and ὑπεκ-. The fires of Olympian sacrifices, no less than those of chthonic ritual, in this presumably resembled most other fires that they were lit from underneath and not from the top. If Ὑπεκκαύστρια means 'kindler,' there is nothing specifically appropriate to rites of aversion in the title itself, and Plutarch's 'because' lightly begs a question which it does not answer.

For our second problem we are at once struck with the peculiarity of a priestess of Athena whose main function is the performance of ceremonies of aversion. Athena is emphatically the goddess of political and intellectual life, and the general conception of her character and functions as expressed in the art, literature, and cults of the Greek world in historical times is singularly free from barbaric elements. Of all the gods and goddesses of Olympus she is least concerned with mystic, kathartic, or apotropaic rites.

The statement of Aristides, 2, 16 (Dindorf I, p. 26): προφῆται δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖς καθάρσιον αὐτὴν ἐπικαλοῦνται καὶ ἀλεξίκακον καὶ τῶν τελεωτάτων ἔφορον καθαρμῶν can only be true of the syncretistic doctrines of the blended philosophical and religious speculation of the second century after Christ with its strong mystical bias. Neither legend nor cult supports it. The one mythological reference to a purification in which Athena takes an active part (Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, 2, i, 5) is susceptible of an obvious explanation. This Dr. Farnell (*op. cit.*, I, p. 318) has missed, owing to the unfortunate slip which caused him

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3d ed., 1025, 31, 1027, 10.

to write "daughters of Proetus" instead of the correct "daughters of Danaus." There can hardly be any doubt that the reason why Athena is associated with Hermes in cleansing the Danaids is not the kathartic character of the goddess herself, but because, as every Greek knew,<sup>1</sup> the Danaids were reputed to be the founders of the famous cult of Lindian Athena at Rhodes.

If we turn from mythology to cult, but two examples are known to me of the worship of Athena under an apotropaic title. There is the dedication *Ἀθάνη ἀποτροπαία ex oraculo* at Rome (*C. I. L.*, VI, 106) and one recorded cult of Athena Apotropaia at Erythrae (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3d ed., 1014, 65 and 115). But in this Erythraean cult the goddess is associated with Zeus Apotropaïos, and probably derives her title directly from this association: for the worship of these two divinities as a pair with a repetition of the same cult title is not at all infrequent.<sup>2</sup> The cult of Zeus Apotropaïos is attested for Elatea and Olympia,<sup>3</sup> and the god is quite frequently worshipped under similar titles: e.g. Alexikakos, Hikesios, Katharsios, Meilichios, Phyxios.

The general character, indeed, of Athena in mythology and cult is singularly free from any mystical associations whatever or from any connection at all with purification or with the lower world. More than any other member of the Homeric pantheon she became the personification of Greek civilization, intensely political, highly intellectual and aesthetic, but relatively little perturbed by emotion uninformed by reason. It may be admitted, however, that it was the Greek genius which stamped this character upon her; for in origin Athena is probably Mediterranean rather than Greek. Her name, like that of Artemis and Aphrodite, has proved insusceptible of satisfactory etymological explanation as an Indo-European word. Like

<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus, *loc. cit.*, Herodotus, 2, 182, Strabo 14, 2, 11, 655. These references are not exhaustive. It was one of the most famous and familiar of foundation legends.

<sup>2</sup> See the list of examples in Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 412, ref. no. 116 a-m. To these may be added from his own references Nos. 22, 64a, 72, 73, 114c. Nor will this list be exhaustive: e.g. the pair Zeus Machaneus and Athena Machanis at Cos, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3d ed., 1026.

<sup>3</sup> The references are given by Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, ii, pp. 189-190.

Artemis and Aphrodite, she has probably her source in the conception of the nature goddess, unwedded rather than chaste, of Bronze Age worship. But she became more completely Hellenized even than Artemis and very much more completely than Aphrodite. Like Artemis and Aphrodite, though not so frequently as either, she was occasionally identified in historical times with oriental goddesses, who were given her name by Greeks who patronized or became acquainted with their cults.

Now I cannot help thinking that all the notable exceptions to the rule that Athena has no concern with what we may loosely call mystic elements in religion, are probably susceptible of one of two explanations. Either they belong to survivals of local cults from pre-Hellenic antiquity, or they are due to the identification of some exotic goddess with Athena.

The piacular ritual of the Locrian maidens who were yearly sent to the temple of Athena at Troy, in consequence, as it was said, of the sacrilegious crime of Ajax, is quite unique in Greek ritual. Whatever the explanation of its origin, its character, with the taint of human sacrifice about it, is extremely primitive. The practice may well go back to the earliest days of Greek contact with the shores of Asia and be concerned with the placation of a foreign and barbaric goddess.<sup>1</sup> We may perhaps compare the stories of the Tauric Artemis in connection with the exploration of the Black Sea.

Of the two Boeotian cults of Athena Itonia and Athena Onka we know practically nothing. The first named may be of Thessalian origin, as is generally supposed, and may have been brought into Boeotia by its invaders. It had, of course, a political significance but whether, as K. O. Müller (*Kleine deutsche Schriften*, II, p. 192) alleged, it was really connected with the nether powers is very far from certain. Strabo says that the goddess was connected with Hades; Pausanias, with Zeus. It is assumed that Strabo is right and that Pausanias wrote "Zeus" when he really meant "nether Zeus." In any case, even if Strabo was right, the mystic element may be a late accretion.<sup>2</sup>

Athena Onka was worshipped at Thebes at an altar set up in the

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of this curious ceremony, see Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, pp. 294-305.

<sup>2</sup> See Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 89.

open air and without a temple. The cult legend was connected with the story of Cadmus and his purification after killing the dragon. The name, which is perhaps connected with the place name Onchestus, is certainly not Greek. This the Greeks themselves recognized, regarding it, almost inevitably, as a Phoenician word.<sup>1</sup> Both name, ritual and legend suggest a very ancient and probably pre-Hellenic local cult of an earth goddess or goddess of nature.

Turning to Athens, it is notorious that we find in the worship of Athena in her own city evidence of primitive agrarian cult which has been overlaid by the later developed conception of the political goddess. In our context we think at once of the unlucky days of the *Plynteria* which doomed to misfortune the home-coming of Alcibiades from exile.<sup>2</sup> Again we find ourselves in associations which are suggestive of survivals from the religion of the Bronze Age and find their analogies in the worship of Artemis and Aphrodite, *viz.*, the human, feminine counterpart of the goddess, whose name is also a cult title of the goddess herself, and the story of the fatal leap from the rock (see Halliday, *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 617). For the relation of Aglauros to Athena is analogous to that of Britomartis-Dictynna to Artemis.

At Corinth, again, we find a piacular ceremony in which a similar human counterpart, Hellotis, is associated with Athena in the aetiological legend of her festival the *Hellotia*. Already in 1896 Farnell clearly perceived the un-Greek character of this festival, though if with him we must reject the etymological speculations of the Greeks, we are probably less likely now to flirt with the suggestion that the goddess Allat came directly to Corinth from Phoenicia. The orientation of such questions has been altered by the discoveries which have been made since his book was published. He could not perhaps be expected to repeat a *tour de force* like the beautiful piece of detective work which, before the significance of Minoan culture had been re-

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, 9, 12, 2 describes the 'hypoethral' ritual and the foundation of the cult by Cadmus. He adds: τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσιν ἐς γῆν ἀφικέσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θεβαῖδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοῖνικα ὄντα, ἔστιν ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὅγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σάϊς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Stephanus Byz., s.v. Ὅγκαῖαι: Ὅγκα γὰρ ἢ Ἀθηναῖα κατὰ Φοινίκας.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Plynteria* and primitive agrarian elements in the Attic worship of Athena, see Farnell, *Cults*, I, pp. 261-262, 289-293.



vealed by the spade, traced the essential connection of the cults of Aphrodite in the Cyclades, Argos, Attica, and the Saronic Gulf with Crete through their association with the Theseus and Ariadne story.<sup>1</sup>

But a connection with Crete there is, as Nilsson has pointed out and Farnell has missed.<sup>2</sup> At a festival of Europa in Crete, a gigantic wreath of myrtle, twenty cubits in diameter, was carried in procession and subsequently burned. This was called Hellotis and was said by Athenaeus (15, 22, 678A) to contain the bones of Europa. The last statement is almost certainly incorrect, and it is more probable that the wreath contained a puppet. The *Hellotia* at Corinth, according to the *aition*, were performed in honour of Athena as a purificatory festival for Hellotis and her sister, who were burned by the Dorian conquerors in the temple of Athena, or who voluntarily leaped into the flames. The general character of the ritual was piacular, a torch race took place, and possibly a puppet called Hellotis was burned. What connection, if any at all, the Athena Hellotis who was worshipped at Marathon, may have with the Corinthian goddess is quite unknown. It is just possible too that the *Halotia* of Tegea are to be connected with the *Hellotia* of Corinth, but we know absolutely nothing at all about the festival except its name (Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 88).

Now obviously both the Cretan and the Corinthian festivals fall into a well-known group of primitive rites of which the *Laphria* in honour of Artemis or the *Daedala* in honour of Hera are examples, though like the festival of *Stepterion* at Delphi, another of the same genus, the *Hellotia* are definitely gloomy or piacular in character. The link with Crete and the name Europa suggest that this Corinthian Athena has succeeded to a very ancient local cult of the goddess of nature. The name *Hellotis* has not been satisfactorily explained by Greek etymologists ancient or modern, and again one of the ancients offers us a "Phoenician" derivation: *Etymologicum Magnum*, 332, 40: 'Ελλωτία. ἡ Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο· ἢ ὅτι οἱ Φοῖνικες τὴν παρθένον ἐλλοτίαν καλοῦσιν.

Now if Ὑπερκαύστρια is really a Greek word derived from καίω, I should be inclined to suggest that here is the most plausible analogy, and that the priestess may have obtained her remarkable title from

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 631 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96; Farnell, *Cults*, I, pp. 276-278, *Hero Cults*, p. 47.

some such remarkable rite as the burning of the doll rather than from the ordinary and necessary task of lighting the sacrificial fire on the altar. I am not at all sure, however, that *ὑπεκκαύστρια* is a Greek word at all.

We have already remarked that foreign goddesses were sometimes given the name Athena by the Greeks. Upon the fringes of the Greek world in the Eastern Mediterranean it will often be difficult to decide whether we should speak of a foreign oriental goddess or of a survival of a cult of the nature goddess of the Bronze Age. Everything we know about Minoan religion points to a very close general resemblance between it and the characteristic worships of Anatolia and the Semitic sea-board.

The Athena to whom human sacrifices were offered at Syrian Laodicea (Porphyry, *de abst.*, 2, 56) must quite certainly be an oriental goddess to whom the Greeks had given the name of Athena (Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 260). The same explanation, I believe, holds true for the curious story in Porphyry (*de abst.*, 2, 54) about the former human sacrifice at Salamis in Cyprus. The human victim was led three times round the altar, he was then stabbed in the stomach by the priest with a spear, and his body was burned. It was said that this sacrifice was originally offered to Agrauros but was subsequently transferred to Diomedes; the temples of Athena, Diomedes, and Agrauros were all enclosed within the same circuit. "Es ist unmöglich zu enträtseln," says Nilsson (*op. cit.*, p. 402), "wem unter den dreien das Opfer eigentlich gehört und wie sie dazu gekommen sind: es steht wohl hinter ihnen ein ungriechischer Gott."

With Nilsson's verdict I should agree, except that for his "unhellenic god" I should substitute "an unhellenic divine triad." The muddle, I would suggest, has arisen from the bestowal of Greek names, which seemed appropriate, upon three exotic divine figures. A somewhat similar case will be seen to arise with regard to the *aition* of the curious cult at Amathus, again in Cyprus, of Ariadne-Aphrodite.<sup>1</sup> Again we have a triad which is somewhat similarly composed; Aphrodite, Theseus, and Ariadne correspond to Athena, Diomedes, and Aglauros. Does not this suggest a regular Anatolian religious formula of which perhaps we may see examples in Cybele, Attis, Agdistis, or

<sup>1</sup> For the particulars of this very curious story, see Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

Cybele, Attis, Sagaritis, or Cybele, Attis, and the princess of Pessinus, or Aphrodite, Adonis and Smyrna or Myrrha? I am even tempted to suggest that the origin of the worship of the triad Leto, Apollo, Artemis, thoroughly Hellenized though it undoubtedly is in historical times,<sup>1</sup> may possibly derive from Anatolia in the first place. The earliest reference to it was in the account given by the *Aethiopis*<sup>2</sup> of the sacrifice to Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, which was made by Achilles in Lesbos in order to obtain purification for the slaughter of Thersites. This is also the earliest known reference to religious purification from blood-guilt, an idea which appears to have been quite foreign to Homeric society.

However that may be, the ritual connected with Athena, Diomedes, and Agraulos at Salamis will at least suggest to us that the cult of an un-Greek goddess in Cyprus, to which the Greeks might attach the name of Athena, is within the bounds of probability.

Now there is another religious title of some difficulty which Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, p. 1290) derives from καίω, and since he quotes ὕπερκαύστρια as strengthening his case, it will be fair to turn his own weapon against him. For at least it is not self-evident, as he assumes, that 'kindler' is a descriptive name for a priestess of Athena who performs piacular rites. "Κοίης," according to Hesychius, "is a priest of the Cabiri, who purifies a murderer;" 'οἱ δὲ κόης,' he adds. Again it will be noticed that we have an alternative form of the title. Obviously with this word, whatever its meaning, are to be associated some or possibly all of a number of Hesychian glosses, the general associations of which are with initiation or purification. Κοιᾶται· ιερᾶται. κοιώσατο· ἀφιερώσατο, καθιερώσατο. κειώσασθαι· καθήρασθαι. κεία· καθάρματα. κήϊα· καθάρματα. κέώσατο· καθήρατο. κεώδης· καθάρως. κηῶεν· μέλαν, καθαρὸν, εὐδομον, τεθυμιαμένον. κηῶδει· εὐώδει, τεθυμιαμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ καίεσθαι τὰ θυμιάματα, ἔνθεν ἐνίστε τὸ δυσῶδες.

Of this Κοίης or Κόης Lobeck tells us "*nomen ipsum sine dubio graecum, καθαρτῆς significans, qui noxios igne lustrat*," and he refers us to ὕπερκαύστρια. Again there is a specious plausibility. *Omnia purgat edax ignis* (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 785); men and herds are passed

<sup>1</sup> For the distribution and popularity of the worship of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis as a triad, see Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, p. 1966.

<sup>2</sup> Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 33.

through fires in a number of peasant rituals; rooms where suitors have been slain or where deaths have occurred may be fumigated; infants or sick persons may be carried round a fire or a fire in some form may be carried round them. For all of these references may be found in Gruppe (*Griechische Mythologie*, II, p. 892). Nevertheless, the process called "the baptism of fire" for the purpose of purification or initiation, though it is often airily alleged (e.g. by Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, p. 179), is never very cogently established nor defined as an actual ritual practice. Certainly cleansing by fire was not normally one of the most important, though it may usually have been one of the subsidiary, rites of purification which a human being had to undergo. Of course, fumigation with torches as a part of the purificatory ceremonial is well established:

Προϊτίδας ἀγνίζων κούρας καὶ τὸν πατέρ' αὐτῶν,  
 Προῖτον Ἀβαντιάδην, καὶ γραῦν πέμπτην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε,  
 δαδὶ μιᾷ σκίλλῃ τε μιᾷ, τόσα σώματα φωτῶν,  
 θείῳ τ' ἀσφάλτῳ τε πολυφλοίσβῳ τε θαλάσσῃ  
 ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταο βαθυρρόου Ὀκεανοῖο.<sup>1</sup>

But I do not know of any Greek murderer submitting to being cleansed by having a fire kindled underneath him.

Now I had arrived at these doubts about the Greek derivation of *κοίης* and *ὑπεκκαύστρια* from the point of view of the inadequate correspondence between the alleged meanings of the titles and the nature of the ritual to be postulated. It was only then that I realized, that as regards *κοίης*, the question of a non-Greek origin had already been explored from a quite different — but converging approach. In *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay* (p. 396) Dr. Sayce suggests that the Hebrew word for 'priest,' *kohen*, was derived from an Anatolian word "the original of which we find in the Hittite *gaennas*, Lydian *κανειν* and *kaves*, Kaskian *kuanis*." It immediately occurred to me as a possibility, though I am but so far equipped in philology as to be aware of my complete ignorance of the science, that this Anatolian word might be the source of our two priestly titles. I am not disputing that Greek pundits themselves may have thought that they were derived from *καίω*, but Greek etymologists were not

<sup>1</sup> Diphilus, *Incert.* 126 (Kock, *Comic. Att. Fragmenta*, ii, p. 577).



always right. It seemed to me possible that in both cases we have a foreign word which has been transliterated into Greek and thus has been given its somewhat ill fitting Greek dress. If that were so, a small matter is surely explained, *viz.*, why it is that in each case an alternative form of the word has been recorded, *koies* or *koes*, *hyperkaustria* or *hyperkaüstra*.

Professor Calder then reminded me of a passage which I had overlooked in a paper of Sir William Ramsay, perhaps because upon other grounds I am inclined to be sceptical of his main thesis, the interpretation of the Ionic tribal name *Aigikoreis*, as 'goat-priests'. "The second half of the name *Koreis*, Anatolian *Kaweis*, exemplifies perhaps one of the many ways in which the Greeks attempted to represent the Anatolian sound *w* for which they had no symbol, and which they were evidently unable to pronounce correctly. There came into play, of course, the general popular tendency to give some sort of suggestion of a meaning to a word belonging to an unknown language; but the use of *καύειν* in the sense of priestess at Sardis, *κοίης* (also *κόης*: Hes.) as priest of the *Kabeiroi*, and the employment of the word by Hipponax all show that a word, which had some form approximating to *Kawa* or *Kowo*, was widely spread on the west coast and islands of Anatolia."<sup>1</sup> For our purpose especially interesting is the title of the priestess of Artemis at Sardis, of which the nominative form is *καύεις*. The title lasted until 127 A.D. but may well also precede the overthrow of the Lydian monarchy. In discussing it Messrs. Buckler and Robinson point out that *καύης* (for which there is the support of Tzetzes), not *καύηξ*, must be the reading in Hipponax, *Frag.* 2. They connect Sardian *καύεις* with *κοίης* and such titles as *κωτάρχης* (Didyma), *κάβαρνοι* (Demeter at Paros), *κάβειροι*, and are tempted to derive from the same source the Greek word *γόης*. As regards *kohen* they consider that the derivation of the Anatolian word from the Semitic is possible but not probable; the possibility of a debt the other way has evidently not occurred to them. Upon grounds of religious history, taking into account the close similarity between Minoan and Anatolian cults and the possibility, to which Sir Arthur Evans has drawn attention, that the Semitic goddess cults of the Eastern Mediterranean

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Ramsay, "Pisidian wolf-priests, Phrygian goat-priests, and the old-Ionian tribes," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XL (1920), p. 198.

may be derived from the religion of the Bronze Age, I see no objection to a Semitic debt to Anatolia. But I am too ignorant to judge the phonetic possibilities nor do I know the facts about the history and distribution of the word *kohen* in the Semitic dialects. They next discuss and admit a possible Indo-European derivation from the root *καφ* = burning (cf. the Delphic *κήνα* or *κέάνα*), but prefer themselves the hypothesis of an Anatolian origin, neither Semitic nor Indo-European, in the name of an indigenous Anatolian god *Koas*, *Kavas* or *Kovas*, a view to which place-names lend some support.<sup>1</sup> In spite of M. Fournier's criticism,<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to think that there is a good deal to support their view, although I should not like to commit myself to the Ram God and his alleged connection with the Cabiri on the one hand and the mysteries of Sabazios on the other. But if we set aside the difficult question of what the word originally means, there does seem to be a strong case for the existence of a divine or hieratic title in a non-Greek language which was widely distributed in Asia Minor. If that is so, I do not see why *κοίης* and *ὑπεκκαύστρια* should not be Hellenized derivations therefrom. Geographically there is nothing against the probability of this hypothesis. *Κοίης* belongs to Samothrace, *ὑπεκκαύστρια* to Cyprus or Cilicia. The occurrence of an Anatolian word in these regions is probable enough.

Again, the existence of a non-Greek word in the worship of the Cabiri (itself certainly a non-Greek word whether connected with *kaves* or not) would not be astonishing. The fashion may swing between a Phoenician or a "Pelasgian" origin for the Samothracian cult, but no one will be likely to claim it as Greek. Similarly our discussion of the cults of Athena may have suggested that the object of a cult of Athena, which is distinguished by peculiar characteristics and is situated in Cyprus, may well have been a goddess who was Greek only in name. Here again a foreign technical term would not be out of place and the Sardinian Artemis we have seen to be served by a priestess called *καύεις*.

Where the evidence is so slender the whole matter is inevitably an affair of thin spun guesswork and it may be thought to be a poor remedy for difficulties, to seek to explain *obscurum per obscurius*.

<sup>1</sup> Buckler and Robinson, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVII (1913), pp. 362 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fournier, in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, XVI (1914), pp. 438 ff.

Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that if Dr. Sayce's contention is sound, there is something to be said for the view that *κοίης* and *ὕπερκαύστρια* may not be Greek at all, but may represent Greek versions of words belonging to the same Anatolian root as the Lydian *καειν* and *kaves*.

(1) Though a sort of meaning can be extracted from our titles, if they are supposed to be derived from *καίω*, it is in neither case very satisfactory nor really descriptive nor appropriate if pressed in detail.

(2) The Greek use of a foreign word would explain the existence of a variant form which in each case has been recorded.

(3) Samothrace and Cyprus (or Cilicia) are just the areas in which an Anatolian word might be expected to survive in cult.

(4) The cult of the Cabiri is definitely of non-Greek origin. With regard to Athena, mystical or apotropaic aspects of that goddess are relatively rare, and where they are to be observed there is reason to suspect a non-Greek element, *viz.*, either foreign or pre-Hellenic. Cyprus is precisely an area where a pre-Hellenic survival or a foreign worship identified by Greeks with the worship of Athena, might be expected to occur. A peculiarly barbarous and un-Greek ritual is recorded in connection with a Cypriote cult of Athena and the parallel case to it of human sacrifice to Athena is recorded of Syrian Laodicea where the goddess concerned must almost certainly be non-Greek.





SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF PH.D., 1924-25

LESLIE WEBBER JONES. — *De Deis Dacicis*

THE first dedication to a god in Dacia is dated 108 A.D.; the last 270. The worship of gods in this country, then, so far as epigraphical evidence can determine, is practically coterminous with the existence of Dacia as a Roman province.

Of the dedicants one-half are soldiers, particularly members of the legio V Macedonica and the legio XIII Gemina and, to a lesser extent, members of the legions I Adiutrix, IIII Flavia Felix, X Fretensis and the cohorts II Flavia Commagenorum, II Hispanorum and IIII Hispanorum. Fewer in number are traders, provincial officers, and private individuals, such as the peoples from Asia Minor introduced into Dacia by Trajan in 105 A.D. at the end of the Second Dacian War. Slaves occur fairly often. Women take the lead in the worship of one group — the Oriental gods.

A glance at the topography of the province reveals the probable way by which most of the gods entered Dacia. They came from Italy through the great emporium Aquileia, across Dalmatia and Moesia and finally, by way of Viminacium, perhaps, into the important centers of Dacian worship, Apulum, Sarmizegetusa, Alba Julia, Thorda, Deva, and Zalatna. There is absolutely no trace of any inscriptions along the Black Sea, which daring traders might have sailed, had they wished.

A list of the gods of Dacia follows: *Roman gods* (32.7 per cent of all the dedications): Jupiter, Mars, Romulus-Quirinus, Lares, Penates, Genius, Juno, Saturn, Terra Mater, Silvanus, Fontes, Nymphae, Neptunus, Di Manes; *Oriental gods* (21.3 per cent): Magna deum Mater (Mater Troclimena), Men, Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates, Jupiter Aeternus (as well as Jupiter Dolichenus, Balmarcodes, Tavianus, Erusenus, and Bussumarus), Dea Syria, Malagbel, Hierobolus, Azizus, Mithras, Cautopates and Cautes, Nabarzes, Dea Caelestis, Hecate, Deus Sarmandus; *Greek gods* (17.7 per cent): Castor and Pollux,

Hercules, Apollo, Ceres, Liber and Libera, Mercury, Aesculapius and Hygia, Dis and Proserpina, Luna, Zeus Sardendenus; *Italic gods* (10.8 per cent): Diana, Minerva (Athena), Fortuna, Venus, Priapus; *Celtic gods* (there are only three inscriptions): Baltis, Epona, Campes-tres, Quadriviae; *deified abstractions* (7.4 per cent): Concordia, Victoria, Virtus, Nemesis, Numen. There is ample evidence of the worship of deified emperors (Marcus Antoninus Pius, Verus, Severus Pius, and others) and of Roma Aeterna. The twelve most popular gods, finally, are, in order of importance, Jupiter, Silvanus, Mithras, Hercules, Aesculapius, Genius, Diana, Fortuna, Nemesis, Dolichenus, Juno, and Minerva.

Interesting are the complex interrelations of the various cults. Syncretism is apparent not only in the dedications to *di, deae*, etc., and to Panthues but also in the twenty-one inscriptions to such divinities as the following: Juno Semlia, Obile and Hercules, Triformis Libera (*i.e.* Hecate), Dea Nemesis sive Fortuna, Deus Bonus Posphorus Apollo Pythius, I. O. M. Dolichenus, I. O. M. Balmarcodes, I. O. M. Tavianus, I. O. M. Erusenus, I. O. M. Bussumarus, Deus Sol Hierobolus, Isis Luna Diana, Serapis Jupiter Sol, Mithras Sol, Jupiter Sol, Baltis Caelestis.

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HARRY KNOWLES MESSENGER.—*De Temporum et Modorum apud Salvianum Usu*

THIS dissertation is not merely a study of the abnormalities shown by Salvian in his use of the verb; it is rather an attempt to determine what his verb-syntax actually is, and only secondarily how far it departs from the classical standard. The general plan adopted was formal rather than functional; without venturing upon an explanation of every curious phenomenon I have been content to record all that seemed likely, within the scope of this undertaking, to interest the student of historical syntax. I have nevertheless taken care, either by references or citations, to align Salvian with other authors of late Latin. Statistics have been used without hesitation where the relative frequency of constructions needed to be shown. For convenience in reference, and as a safeguard against departure from familiar classification and terminology, I have followed closely C. Stegmann's revision of R. Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik der*

*lateinischen Sprache* (1912-14). In the case of the more uncommon constructions I have throughout given references to every passage, thus supplementing the Indices in Pauly's (1883) and Halm's (1877) editions.

My dissertation itself being a summary of facts, I can here call attention to only a few of the more important things. Part I deals with tenses, which Salvian uses with consistent carefulness. An examination of certain passages, which, according to Halm's Index, have "imperfectum coniunctivi insolentius positum," shows that in every case Salvian has used the imperfect quite correctly: e.g. *Gub.* 5, 31, 6 (Pauly): *solus patereris expensam*. In a few passages the perfect, owing to the exigencies of the clausula, is used for the more logical future perfect: *Gub.* 5, 1, 13: *legitime lege utere et legem tibi bonam ipse fecisti*. Only one sure example of the pluperfect for the imperfect occurs (*Gub.* 2, 12, 10). In other passages, cited by H. Blase in his *Geschichte des Plusquamperfekts im Lateinischen*, p. 52, the pluperfect is shown to be used correctly. Likewise in three passages (*Gub.* 6, 75, 14: *instaurasset*; 7, 9, 5: *placuisent*; 8, 11, 17: *fuisse*) cited by Pauly, s.v. "Plusquamperfecti coniunct. insolentius posit.," the mood and tense are easily justified in accordance with their logical meaning. Salvian makes great use of the future perfect as a conditional (see H. Blase in *A. L. L.*, X (1897), pp. 313-343): e.g. *Gub.* 3, 7, 14: *sic etiam Christiani homines infideles sunt, si bona sibi a deo adsignata corruperint*. Noteworthy is the use of the active future periphrastic with the modal force of the passive: e.g. *Ec.* 1, 55, 19: *Sed dicit aliquis: totum ergo deo oblaturus est (= offerre oportet) quod habet?* Furthermore, as is to be expected in a late writer, perfect passive participles are commonly combined with the perfect tenses of *sum*.

Part II treats of moods in primary sentences. It is sufficient to record here that *forsitan*, *fortasse*, and *forte* are used with either subjunctive or indicative indiscriminately. *Nisi fortasse* also occurs along with *nisi forte*.

In Part III moods in subordinate clauses are discussed. *Quod*-clauses are shown to be used freely, after *non dubito* and *non dubium est* as well as after verbs of saying and thinking. The latter also take clauses introduced by *quia*. I have counted 640 instances of the accusative with infinitive after these verbs, 23 of *quod* with indicative,

37 of *quod* with subjunctive, 12 of *quia* with indicative, and 3 of *quia* with subjunctive. In these constructions Salvian carefully differentiates indicative and subjunctive. The subjunctive is the usual mood in indirect questions, but in nine instances, excluding cases introduced by *si*, the indicative is used after a verb of present tense. In clauses of past time introduced by *priusquam* or *antequam* the imperfect subjunctive is regular, even where Ciceronian usage demands a perfect indicative. Quite striking is the use of *quod* consecutive: e.g. *Gub.* 7, 107, 8: *tantum apud illos profecit studium castimoniae, tantum severitas disciplinae, non solum quod ipsi casti sunt, sed, ut rem dicamus novam, castos etiam Romanos esse fecerunt*. Indeed Salvian's free use of *quod* reminds us repeatedly of the French *que*. In conditional sentences of the potential form I find the type *si sit . . . sit* seven times, *si sit . . . est* fifty-two times, and *si sit . . . erit* nine times. In the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences the use of the indicative for the subjunctive is well established: there are nine examples of the imperfect indicative for the subjunctive, twelve of the pluperfect indicative, forty-five of the normal imperfect subjunctive, and six of the pluperfect. Conjunctive *licet* is followed by primary tenses of the subjunctive in forty-two passages, but by secondary in only three.

Infinitive, participle, gerund, gerundive, and supine are treated in Part IV. As might be expected in fifth-century Salvian, the gerundive with *sum* is often used in place of a future, especially in indirect discourse. More remarkable is the use of the gerundive in place of a subordinate clause: e.g. *Gub.* 4, 53, 8: *et quae, rogo, homini spes erit, qui ipsum accusat iudicem iudicandus?* There is only one instance of a supine: *Ec.* 1, 48, 21: *ineffabile dictu*.

In conclusion, as one of the results of this study I suggest the following departures from the readings given in Pauly's text: *Gub.* 1, 29, 4 read *aestimavit*; 3, 57, 11 *aestimet*; 4, 14, 8 *quod*; 4, 10, 19 *inrogat quae meremur*; 5, 33, 23 *reprehenderunt*; 5, 38, 5 *possem*; 6, 52, 28 *desinunt*; 6, 57, 20 *verberatur*; 6, 97, 8 *mutaverint*; 7, 91, 15 *credat*; 8, 25, 29 *miremur* (deleting Pauly's conjectural *minime*); *Ep.* 9, 2, 10 *aestimes*; *Ep.* 9, 16, 2 *adsumptum sit*; *Ec.* 1, 37, 15 *possiderent*.



WILLIAM FLETCHER SMITH. — *De Ovidii Metamorphoseon aliquot codicibus recensendis*

THIS thesis seeks to trace the history of the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* through a study of the relationships of the following manuscripts:

Bernensis 363 ( $\alpha$ ), Parisinus 12246 ( $\pi$ ), Harleianus Musei Britannici 2610 ( $\epsilon$ ), Londinensis Musei Britannici 11967 ( $\beta$ ), Marcianus Florentinus 225 (M), Neapolitanus IV F 3 (N), Vaticano-Urbinas ( $\nu$ ), Marcianus Florentinus 223 (F), Laurentianus XXXVI. 12 (l), Amplo-nianus prior Erfurtanus (e), Monacensis 29007 ( $\tau$ ), Monacensis 23612 ( $\mu$ ), Hauniensis 2008 (h), Codex Planudeus (the codex, now lost, from which Planudes made his Greek version).

From a reconsideration of the manuscript evidence it appears that all the manuscripts descended from a single archetype, that the archetype was written in rustic capitals certainly before 800 A.D., and that this archetype or a copy of it was provided with glosses. From the archetype X two manuscripts (Y and Z) were derived. Codex  $\alpha$  represents the Y tradition which was probably insular. From Z, which was perhaps of Continental origin, at least two copies were made, Z<sup>2</sup>, the ancestor of the German manuscripts  $\epsilon$  and  $\tau$ , and Z<sup>1</sup>, from which were derived  $\pi$  and two lost manuscripts (Z<sup>3</sup> and Z<sup>4</sup>). From Z<sup>3</sup> descended manuscripts M N  $\beta$   $\nu$   $\mu$ , while Z<sup>4</sup> is the ancestor of F e h l Codex Planudeus. From these conclusions it follows that the classification of the manuscripts made by Hugo Magnus and generally accepted by editors is erroneous and that the same scholar's denial of an archetype of the extant manuscripts is untenable.

An attempt is made to determine the provenience of the lost manuscripts Y, Z, Z<sup>1</sup>, Z<sup>2</sup>, Z<sup>3</sup>, Z<sup>4</sup>, with the result that Y seems to have been written in Ireland, Z<sup>2</sup> in Germany, Z<sup>4</sup> in France, whereas the Italian origin of Z, Z<sup>1</sup> and Z<sup>3</sup> appears certain.

Examination of readings indicates that the Munich manuscript  $\mu$ , which was copied from M or a copy of M, is mixed with the Z<sup>2</sup> and Z<sup>4</sup> lines of descent, that  $\nu$  and N are mixed with the Z<sup>4</sup> line, and that Z<sup>4</sup> is mixed with the Y tradition through the Codex Planudeus; whence  $\mu$ , though descended from M, has an independent value, since it brings over from the Z<sup>2</sup> and Z<sup>4</sup> lines genuine readings as well as errors. Like-

wise the Greek version made by Planudes contributes much to the constitution of the text of the *Metamorphoses* not only through the additional support which it gives to the Z<sup>4</sup> manuscripts (F e h l) but also through its relation to the Y tradition and through its own good readings.

From examination of the manuscript evidence it is concluded that Marcianus (M), the exaltation of which by Magnus has been followed by all recent editors except Riese (who considered N the codex of first importance) is neither the best manuscript nor a good manuscript of the early eleventh century, but a mediocre manuscript of the late eleventh century, carelessly written in Roman script, no older than F and no better than F. It is also shown that N's corrections have extraordinary value, that the German manuscripts  $\epsilon$  and  $\tau$  are of great value. Codex  $\tau$  is for the first time fully treated.

A study is made of the extent and age of the glossing suffered by the several manuscripts and their parent manuscripts, now lost, and a history of the recensions is given. Critical editions together with essays and photographs of manuscripts furnish material for this dissertation.

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